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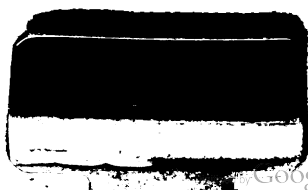
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HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLIONS IN SCOTLAND,
FROM
1638 TILL 1660.

VOL. I.

a

CONSTABLE'S MISCELLANY
OF
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HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLIONS IN SCOTLAND,

UNDER

THE MARQUIS OF MONTROSE,

AND OTHERS,

FROM 1638 TILL 1660.

BY ROBERT CHAMBERS,

AUTHOR OF THE "HISTORY OF THE REBELLION IN 1745."

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR CONSTABLE AND CO.

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P R E F A C E.

It may be necessary, in presenting this work to the public, to preface it with a few sentences explanatory of its object, of the nature of its materials, and of the principles upon which it has been composed.

With regard to the first of these matters, the author may state, that, as in the similar case of his "History of the Rebellion in 1745," he has here endeavoured rather to present a view or portraiture of the external circumstances of the period embraced, by which he might hope to interest the imaginations of ordinary readers, than to produce a "History" of the legitimate description, which should appeal only to the moral faculties of the select few. The Great Civil War, which forms the subject of the work, although more remote from the memories and sympathies of the present generation

than the Insurrection of 1745, is a portion of our national story only inferior in interest to that most exciting and romantic affair; and it was suggested to him, by the success which seemed to attend his first attempt, that if he could possibly give the present narrative in a style of as minute detail, and gemmed with as many circumstances of interest, he might produce a work which would be honoured with a proportionate degree of approbation. On this account, he will be found, in the following pages, to have introduced a great number of anecdotes and traits of the period, such as are generally rejected by modern writers from motives of taste, but which are nevertheless, in his estimation, the very proper materials of history; the things, to wit, which, as they relate to human nature, its actions, its emotions, and its sufferings, can never fail, so long as that nature endures, to awaken the chords and raise the tides of the human heart.

The materials out of which he has formed the work, have been chiefly derived from the familiar contemporary chroniclers of the time; from the confessions of men who acted in public affairs themselves, or the reports of those, at least, who witnessed them.

It was his custom, in writing the book, first to acquaint himself with the general tone and outline of a period, by a perusal of the best modern histories; then to dive into the fountains from which these works were drawn; to compare the one with the other; to form his own opinion and make his own selection of materials; to commit the whole to memory; and, finally, to write it off, *currente calamo*, in the most lively style of language which the subject permitted: and so on, by successive stages, to the end. As it will be found, by a glance at his quotations, that a great proportion of the whole matter has been derived from the very curious and extensive collection of manuscripts preserved in the Advocates' Library—manuscripts which have never yet been printed, and even up to this day very little poached—he hopes to be allowed some credit for the recondite nature of a great portion of his intelligence.

With regard to the political and religious tone of the work, he can only state that, when he began to write, he entertained a solemn intention to treat both sides with candour and liberality. It was his wish, while he did not permit his mind to be af-

fectured by the slightest religious partialities, to write in a strain of philanthropy rather than of party—to report the feelings and passions of all bodies of men, and not to vindicate those of any one exclusively. Throughout the whole first half of the work, he succeeded in maintaining this laudable intention ; and he would have been happy, though only for the sake of uniformity, had he been able to carry it through the latter moiety also. There, however, it was absolutely impossible. So long as the popular party had any thing to complain of, or any thing to seek ; so long as it was composed of a respectable portion of the nation, and characterised by purity of motives and magnanimity of conduct ; it was easy to treat it with respect. When at length, however, it degenerated into the mob-born representatives of a mob, and became possessed of that very power which it had formerly complained of in the king ; when it resolved itself into an oligarchy of mingled demagogues and fanatics, and the people sunk beneath it into misery ten times greater than what they had shed so much blood to avoid ; he must confess that he found himself called upon both by good sense and good feeling to give

his countenance almost exclusively to the royal cause, which was then purified by its misfortunes, ennobled by the deeds of its supporters, and rendered respectable by the accession of those very names which had at first gilded the rude cause of the populace. In this matter, indeed, he believes he has been actuated precisely by the motives which induced his hero Montrose, and other sound Covenanters, to desert to the king's standard; the necessity which arose at a certain period of the civil war, to protect the limits of the constitution, and the rights of the various orders of society, from the military and clerical usurpers, who, under the pretext of liberty and religion, were supported by the misguided multitude in their attempts to revolutionize both.

He finds it only necessary to remark in conclusion, that the title of these volumes has been selected with no reference to the technicalities of party, but simply with a view to the convenience, and in deference to the judgment, of his publishers.

48, NORTH HANOVER STREET,
Edinburgh, Sept. 18, 1828.

HISTORY
OF THE
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FROM
1638 TILL 1660.

VOL. I.

A

"She would cry out murder, and disturb the whole neighbourhood ; and when John came running down stairs to inquire what the matter was, Nothing, forsooth, only her maid had stuck a pin wrong in her gown."

ARBUTHNOT'S *History of John Bull.*

61

HISTORY
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1638 TILL 1660.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

"Why may we not presume that God doth even call for such change, or alteration, as the very condition of things doth make necessary?"—HOOKER.

WHEN the period arrived in England for the renunciation of the Roman Catholic faith (1534), the great change was effected at the instigation, and under the direction, of a powerful sovereign; and things, immediately after, settled down into a model of Protestantism, which, retaining much that was good, rejected most of what was bad in the ancient system. Unfortunately for the repose of both kingdoms, the Scottish Catholic Church was reformed under different circumstances, and with very different results. The new opinions did not effectually reach that remote section of the

island, till twenty years after they had taken root in England; and at the battle of Pinkie, fought in 1547, one of the war-cries of the Scottish soldiery was, "Down with the heretic English!" When at length, about the year 1558, the feeble regency of a female,¹ by which Scotland was then governed, could no longer prevent the admission of the new doctrines, the people, instead of being converted to the mild principles of Luther, like their brethren in England, were wrested, all at once, from the extreme of Catholic zeal to that of the principles of Calvin, a Genevese reformer who had sprung up in the meantime, and who, less disposed than Luther to compromise with the Romish Church, had deprived religious worship of every external ornament, and propagated a creed which appealed only to the understanding. Under the care of the celebrated John Knox, a disciple of Calvin, and one calculated, by the sternness of his nature and the energy of his talents, to give full force to the tenets of his master, a system of worship was introduced into Scotland, which, because it denied the apostolical character of bishops, and professed a parity of ecclesiastical rank, was distinguished by the epithet of Presbyterian.² This existed, with various trivial modifications, during the successive reigns of Mary and James, till the latter, in 1603, ascended the throne of England, and became the sovereign of both kingdoms.

During the whole of James's reign as King of Scotland, he had been engaged in perpetual broils with the Presbyterian clergy. Obligated, on one hand, to temporize with the Catholics, who still formed a powerful body, and with some of whom he was on terms of personal friendship, he was

exposed, on the other, to the indignation with which the predominant clergy beheld his disaffection. They perceived, that, in the prospect of governing England, he had secretly prepared himself, notwithstanding his protestations of a contrary disposition, to declare in favour of the Episcopal church. They could not disguise from themselves, that their acknowledgment of no other superior than Jesus Christ, was obnoxious to a king, whose notions upon subjects of government were well known to be high. What they apprehended with fear they reprehended with freedom; and, as their ideas of their own character, as ministers of the Supreme Being, led them to have little respect for other constituted authorities, they did not scruple to contend with James, in the most violent manner, for every minute point of church discipline, and even to inveigh against his politics to his face.

The characteristic good nature of James prevented him from taking such severe measures with his clergy, as might have been expected from one so inspired with notions of arbitrary government. It is recorded by Calderwood,³ the minute chronicler of the Scottish church, that on one occasion, when he was engaged in high dispute with a committee of the clergy, Andrew Melville, the most fiery of their number, seized his majesty by the sleeve, and, addressing him as "God's silly vassal," asserted, in a free and eloquent harangue, the church's independence of his authority. James, instead of resenting this unceremonious conduct, is said by the historian to have descended from the passion in which he had previously been, and to have "dismissed them pleasantly," with a soothing answer. There seems, indeed, to have been

a prevailing feeling of kindness between this monarch and his subjects, which prevented both alike from ever conceiving deep and irreconcilable offence against each other. His person was on one occasion so monstrously insulted in a riot at the council-house of Edinburgh (December 17, 1596), that he did not take the town again into favour for three months. When he at length relented, he went to that very council-house, and drank the healths of all the magistrates, "calling them his gossops."⁴ James seems to have been one of those persons, who, notwithstanding a high theoretic pride, can often descend to the most humiliating familiarity with their inferiors. As a monarch, by a similar anomalousness of character, he pitched his prerogative at the highest possible tone, but was constantly playing under it; and it would, perhaps, be quite possible for the sovereign of a free constitutional state to act in a more arbitrary manner than this amiable despot.

A most curious and amusing anecdote, illustrative of the strange disputes which James condescended, or was obliged, to hold upon temporal matters with his clergy, has been preserved in an Episcopalian publication of the succeeding age; "The Burden of Issachar," to wit, written in 1646, by Maxwell, Bishop of Ross. "It is to this day remembered," says this author, "that when Master Robert Bruce came from his visitation in the west or south, returning to Edinburgh, and entering by the Canongate, King James, looking out at his window in the Palace of Holyroodhouse, with indignation, (which extorted from him an oath,) said, 'Master Robert Bruce, I am sure, intends to be king, and declare himself heir to King Robert de Bruce!' At another time, wish-

ing to recall the three banished lords, Angus, Huntly, and Errol, James attempted to gain the consent of Master Robert, who possessed more power in Edinburgh, through his command of consciences, than the sovereign himself. Being ushered into the king's bedchamber, James opened unto him his views upon the English crown, and his fears lest the Papists in Scotland, of whom these lords were the chief, should contrive to join with their brethren in England, and raise obstacles to his succession. He continued, 'Do you not think it fit, Master Robert, that I give them a pardon, restore them to their honour and lands, and by doing so gain them, that thus I may save the effusion of Christian blood?' To this demand, so piously made, the answer was, 'Sir, you may pardon Angus and Arroll, and recall them; but it is not fit, nor will you ever obtain my consent, to pardon or recall Huntly.' To this the most gracious king sweetly replied, 'Master Robert, it were better for me to pardon and recall him, and not the other two, than the other two without him; first, because you know he hath a greater command, and is more powerful than them both; secondly, you know I am more assured of his affection to me, for he hath married my near and dear kinswoman, the Duke of Lennox his sister.' His rejoinder was, 'Sir, I cannot agree to it.' The king, desiring him to consider it, dismissed him; but, when sent for once more, Master Robert still continued inexorable: 'I agree with all my heart,' said he, 'that you recall Angus and Arroll; but for Huntly, it cannot be.' The king resumed, and repeated his reasons before mentioned, and added some more. But he obstinately opposed and contradicted it. All do know, who

know any thing of these times, that Angus and Arroll were as bigot Papists, if not more, than Huntly : there was no difference in religion : the truth is, Master Robert was a lover of the Earl of Argyle, who loved not much the Earl of Huntly ; this was the spirit inspired him, as it seemeth. King James desired his reasons ; he gave none, but spoke majestically. Then the king told him downright, ‘ Master Robert, I have told you my purpose : you see how nearly and dearly it concerneth me : I have given you my reasons for my resolutions : you give me your opinion ; but you strengthen it not with reasons. Wherefore, I will hold my own resolution, and do as I first spoke to you.’ To the which, with Christian and subject-like reverence, Bruce returned this reply, ‘ Well, sir, you may do as you list ; but chuse you, you shall not have me and the Earl of Huntly both for you.’ Judge by this, in what case monarchy is in such a government ; for that this is truth, I am as much assured of as moral certainty can assure any man of moral truth, which with his own ears he hath not heard ; and yet this man was but minister of Edinburgh.” 5

Before his accession to the English throne, (1595), James had divulged his reasons for preferring Episcopacy to Presbytery, in the book of instruction entitled “ Basilicon Doron,” which he professed to write for the use of his son. “ A parity among ministers,” he there broadly says, “ cannot agree with a monarchy. Without bishops, the three Estates of Parliament cannot be established. The Presbyterian clergy seek to establish a democracy in the land ; at least it is likely that, by showing an example of ecclesiastical government upon that footing, they may draw the civil

government to the same parity. "No man," he emphatically adds, "is to be hated more of a king than a proud puritan."

He delivered his sentiments regarding Presbytery still more broadly, and in much more amusing language, during a conference which he held with an English puritan of the name of Reynolds, after he went to England. "A Scottish Presbyterie," he exclaimed on that occasion, "agreeth as well with a monarchy as God with the devil. Were such a system established, then Jack and Tom, and Will and Dick, would meet, and at their pleasures censure me, my councils, and all my proceedings. Will would stand up and say, It must be thus: Then Dick would reply, and say, Nay, marry, but we will have it thus. No, no. Le Roy s'avisera: stay, I pray you, for one seven years, before you demand that of me: and if you then find me pursey and fat, and my wind-pipe stuffed, I will perhaps hearken to you: for, let that government be once up, I am sure I shall be kept in breath; then we shall all of us have work enough—both our hands full. But, Reynolds, till you find that I grow lazy, let that alone." ⁶

The accession of power and patronage which he gained with the English crown, enabled him at length to put his long-cherished designs, with regard to the Scottish Church, into a train for execution. In 1606, he filled the twelve bishoprics, and bestowed upon each of their occupants a vote in parliament, and a considerable portion of their original revenues. In 1611, one of these was endowed by an English bishop with the ordination, which is considered by that church so necessary to the character and office of a clergyman; and an attempt, though only a partially successful one,

was immediately made to subject the inferior clergy to the same ceremony. These proceedings were in the utmost degree revolting to the great bulk of the people, and especially to the clergymen; nor was it without great difficulty that parliament was induced to sanction them. But James had become at once so formidable and so opulent by his new dignities, that he was able to overpower the opposition of all the influential classes of the community, by working either upon their fears or upon their avarice.

Prior to this period, and almost ever since the Reformation, the clergy had been so much accustomed to have something like a shadow of episcopal rank among them, that they were not alarmed to the very last degree, by the introduction of bishops in a bodily or tangible form. One there was, indeed, who, on hearing the specious reasons which were alleged for the existence of an Episcopal bench in parliament, could not help crying out in the General Assembly, "Busk, busk, busk him, as bonnily as ye can, and bring him in as fairly as ye will, we still see him weel enouch—we discern the horns of his mitre!"—meaning, probably, that, however gentle and innocent Episcopacy might look, it was, after all, but rank Popery. Some others remonstrated in such violent terms against the royal will, that James was obliged to put them in prison.

There was one individual who took a very amusing way of expressing his antipathy to the measure. This was Mr William Row, minister of Strathmiglo, in Fife. One of James's steps in the progress of the affair was to introduce officials, called *constant moderators of presbyteries*, upon whom the bishops might depend for the means of

acquiring and preserving an ascendancy over the clergy. It having been reported that Mr Row intended to preach against constant moderators, at the opening of the General Assembly which was to sanction them, Lord Scoon, the king's commissioner, sent a message to inform him, that if he presumed to mention the words "constant moderator" in the course of his sermon, the guards should be ordered to discharge ten or twelve culverins at him, and that with such certainty of aim that the greater number of the bullets should alight upon his nose. Instead of being appalled by this threat, Row began his sermon with a tirade upon the vice of gluttony, to which he knew Lord Scoon to be monstrously addicted; and such was the force of his eloquence, that the commissioner was obliged to hold down his head, and cover his face with his hands, in order to conceal his guilty confusion. The preacher proceeded to show, that there should be no constant moderators in the church; but, knowing that Lord Scoon was ignorant of Latin, he judged it expedient to express the offensive words in that language—using the phrase, "*Præstes ad vitam.*" This hazardous experiment was successful; and when the congregation was dismissed, the Commissioner only remarked to his friends, "Howbeit the minister fell out upon my faults, yet ye see I charmed him that he durst not name *constant moderator.*"

James had now established an Episcopalian form of church government, though the material parts of the Presbyterian system still continued to exist under the new authorities. It was his next object to introduce an Episcopalian form of public worship. For the achievement of this purpose, he, in 1617, paid a visit to his native kingdom, and endea-

voured, by personal influence, to gain over the more rigid of the clergy. His efforts were so far successful, that a General Assembly, held the following year at Perth, sanctioned the introduction of five portions of Episcopalian worship ; (1.) Kneeling at the taking of the communion ; (2.) The administration of the communion to sick persons at their own houses ; (3.) Baptism under similar circumstances ; (4.) The confirmation of children ; and, (5.) The observance of the festivals of Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension, and Pentecoste. These forms are known, in the history of the Scottish church, as the Five Articles of Perth.

There can be no doubt that every step which James had hitherto made towards the accomplishment of his purpose, was only gained by the most unfair means. The Assemblies which sanctioned his preliminary views were shamefully packed ; and every successive measure met with a violent protestation from a large majority of the church. He had established an ecclesiastical court, called the High Commission, upon a similar scale of privileges with the celebrated court of the same name in England ; and before this assembly, which in general was only attended by bishops, every act and symptom of recusancy was severely scrutinized.

Yet, whatever might be James's selfish motive in these innovations, it must be owned that they also comprised the patriotic object of facilitating a union between the two countries. An attempt had been made, immediately after his accession to the crown of England, to bring about a union ; but the negotiations were broken off on account of the irreconcilable differences which existed between the religion and laws of the two kingdoms.

To convert Scotland, the smaller country, to the same professed religion with England, was therefore judged an indispensable preparative for the proposed measure. And, judging the question in a merely political point of view, it must really be owned, that, if that conversion could have been achieved without using improper means, it would have added greatly to the temporal advantage of the Scottish nation. It will scarcely be asserted, in this liberal age, that either form of religion possesses any superiority over the other in a spiritual sense; and, in now judging of the case, it can only be regretted that the measures which the king took for the attainment of his object were so much opposed to the genius of the nation, so precipitate, and so directly violative, both of former obligations, and of the spirit of public liberty.

In the year 1621, when the Five Articles of Perth came to be ratified by parliament, some circumstances took place, which proved in an unequivocal manner the aversion of the public to their reception. On the Sunday before the meeting of that assembly (July 22), a country clergyman preached in the Greyfriars' church against king, bishop, and minister; censuring, moreover, "the watchmen of both kirks," for not admonishing the king to forbear his habit of profane swearing, and for omitting to remind him of his breach of previous engagements. On being brought next day before the privy council, instead of disavowing, or expressing contrition for his violent language, he, in addition, called the bishops who were present by the dreadful epithet of "Belly-gods." They were obliged to consign him to Dumbarton castle, to prevent him from further

inflaming the public mind at this momentous crisis.

As usual on all such occasions, a prodigious number of country clergymen had flocked to Edinburgh, to protest against the proceedings of the legislature, and maintain in the public mind a salutary horror of what was going forward. A deputation of them having endeavoured to inspire the commissioners of burghs with a spirit of resistance, it was found necessary to command them all to retire from the city; much upon the same principle that now enjoins soldiers to remain five miles from the scene of an election. It happened about the same time, that an order was issued by the privy council for apprehending and bringing up a notorious Highland malefactor, of the name of Cameron, who was reputed, among other crimes, to practise that of sorcery. The people took occasion from this, says Calderwood, to predict "that the parliament could not end well, the beginning being so ill-favoured—they were banishing God and bringing in the devil."

When at length the act of ratification came to be prepared, according to the custom of Scotland, by the packed committee called the Lords of the Articles, no fewer than four recusants were found in that generally obsequious body. Nor was it without the greatest difficulty, and many base artifices, that a majority of votes was secured in parliament. Many of the *Commissioners*, as the members of the Scottish Parliament were called, consented to vote for the king, in consequence of a report spread by the officers of state, that the act was sure to pass, whether they individually resisted it or not, and that, by their opposition, they would only get themselves out of favour with

the king, without doing the cause of religion any good. Others obtained permission to retire without voting.

To show the general spirit of resistance which was displayed on this occasion, it is only necessary to mention the conduct of Sir John Hamilton, the Laird of Preston, in East Lothian, one of the four uncompromising Lords of the Articles. It being thought necessary to gain over Sir John, on account of the respectability which his rank and character gave to the cause of resistance, the Marquis of Hamilton, who acted as royal commissioner, and Sir Thomas Hamilton, the Secretary of State, used all their influence to induce him to retract his vote ; yet, to the astonishment of all, he could not be prevailed upon *even by his chief*. "His life, his land, and all he had," he declared, with the spirit of a Scottish clansman, "were at the service of the marquis ; but he could not wittingly and willingly offend God, and thereby make a hell in his own conscience." The Bishop of Dumblane and Lord Scoon were successively sent to try their influence over him ; but alike in vain. When the secretary limited his demand to a wish that he would absent himself, he answered, "I will not—I will stay and bear witness to the truth."

The ratification of the act did not take place without a great number of circumstances, which, according to the superstitious spirit of the times, were looked upon as evil omens. Three fires, which happened at Edinburgh in one day during the preceding January, with the stranding of a whale at Montrose, had already given presage of the evils of the year.⁸ The immediate misfortune of the day was indicated by a fire, which took

place early in the morning, at the head of the Cowgate. It was also remarked with much terror, that, as the members of parliament were preparing in the court of Holyroodhouse for their procession to the place of meeting, a swan flew over their heads from north to south, "flapping with its wings, and uttering its natural cry." A still more remarkable circumstance occurred at this juncture.

After the Laird of Preston had been seated on his horse, the secretary, in order to testify the offence he had taken at him, sent his brother, Mr. John Hamilton, and some of his servants, to demand back a foot-mantle, which the laird had borrowed from him before parliament sat down. It happened that Sir John, not being pleased with the said foot-mantle, had laid it aside, and borrowed one of more costly and beautiful materials from another person. When the deputation arrived, therefore, and delivered the secretary's message with appropriate insolence, he answered, "This is not my lord's foot-mantle; his is of cloth passmented—this, you see, is velvet. If you please, I shall send one of my servants up to my chamber in the town, where it lyeth folded up, and it shall presently be rendered to him." The messengers reported this to the secretary, but were immediately sent back with a repetition of the demand. "My lord affirms," they said, "that the foot-mantle ye ride on is his, and therefore you must 'light.'"—"If ye make me 'light,'" replied Hamilton, "all Scotland shall hear of it." They then requested him to pass his oath that the foot-mantle was really not that which he had borrowed from his lordship; but he answered, that nothing should induce him to swear; adding, by

way of sarcasm at the conduct of the marquis and secretary, "Go, tell my lord I shall be as true as any Hamilton in Scotland." After this, a third message came from the secretary, inquiring what place he designed to take in the ensuing procession. But the laird, perceiving that his lordship designed to challenge, and perhaps to imprison him, if he should take his ordinary place among the most honoured of the barons, answered, he would take such a place as should not be quarrelled; and accordingly mingled himself with the meaner order of the barons.²

When the members had entered the Parliament House, the nobles, according to custom, went at first into the inner house, and then came forth to take their places in the hall. Three noblemen remained, in order to escape voting; the Earls of Morton and Buchan, and the Viscount Lauderdale. Morton and Lauderdale abstained by the influence of the Marquis of Hamilton; but Buchan was only restrained from coming out to give his vote against the act, by the command of his father, the Earl of Mar. It was afterwards reported, that this high-spirited young nobleman, the founder of a family remarkable for its zeal in behalf of civil liberty, expressed his vexation at this paternal interference by bursting into a flood of tears. There was still another remarkable circumstance which helped to indicate the generally prevalent spirit of resistance. Two noblemen, who were opposed to each other in a claim of title or precedence, but who thought alike on the subject of religion, were expected rather to forbear voting than to quit their respective claims. They "packed up their controversy, however," says Calderwood, "for that time, for the love they bore to the truth."

Every measure was taken by the powers in being to prevent the dissentient clergy from presenting a protest in parliament. A domestic of the Archbishop of St Andrews was set over the inner bar of the house, to observe that such persons should not enter; and the archbishop himself called upon the chancellor, to charge the constable and marshal of the house to challenge all who might have already intruded. One was accordingly challenged by the marshal, but answered, "My lord, ye challenge the wrang man; the bishop himself brought me in." A person appointed by the clergy to present a protest, insinuated himself as far as the outer bar, but was eventually expelled. He was obliged to content himself with fixing a copy of his protestation above the door of the house, and another upon the market-cross of the city.

The business of this day terminated, as it began, with evil omens. "The day began," says a partial historian of the church, "with fire from the earth; it ended with fire from heaven." Just as the lord commissioner rose from the throne to put an end to the business of the day, by touching the acts with the sceptre, a flash of lightning burst into the windows of the house, which had previously been very dark; and after that flash followed another, and after that a third; all in such quick succession, and followed so immediately by corresponding claps of thunder, that many persons present supposed them to proceed from the castle guns, which then always fired at the termination of a parliament. It was, in reality, a tremendous thunder-storm; but one which, being confined to the narrow limits of Edinburgh, was supposed by the people to have been sent by the Almighty, on

purpose to express his indignation at the proceedings of parliament. "It appeared," says Calderwood, "to all who dwelt within ten or twelve miles of the town, that the clouds stood right above the town, and overshadowed that part in a particular manner which contained the Parliament House. After the lightning, thunder, and darkness, there followed a shower of hailstones extraordinary great, and last of all, rain in such abundance, that it made the gutters to run like little brooks. The lords were imprisoned the space of an hour and a half. Servants rode home with foot-mantles; and their masters withdrew themselves as they might, some in their coaches, and some on their foot. So the five articles were not honoured with the carrying of the honours (*the regalia*), or with the riding of the estates in ranks."

This momentous day (August 4, 1621,) was long after remembered in Scotland by the epithet of BLACK SATURDAY; and the parliament was designated the Black Parliament; though there was also a party, composed of the favourers of the new religion, which held the thunder-storm to be an expression of heavenly approbation, as the law was delivered on Mount Sinai under similar circumstances.¹⁰ To complete the popular alarm, it was now recollected that the ancient soothsayer, called Thomas the Rhymer, had foretold great woe as likely to befall Scotland when the representative of the Hamilton family should rule over it. That personage was now at least the vicar of majesty; and the rhyme was universally held to be accomplished:—

"O wretched Scot, when Cadyow¹¹ turns thy king,
Then may thou dule and dolour daily sing;

For from the south great sorrow shall he bring,
Therefore o'er Scots right short shall be his reign."

It may be mentioned, as a circumstance indicating the spirit of the times, that, while the parliament was sitting in deliberation upon the act, the non-conforming ministers, who had been banished from the city, held a grand conventicle in the neighbouring fields,¹² where they preached and prayed in the most vehement style against the proceedings of the legislature.¹³

CHAPTER II.

INTRODUCTORY.

Religious men, who hither must be sent,
 As awful guides of heavenly government;
 To teach you penance, fasts, and abstinence,
 To punish bodies for the soul's offence.

DAYDEN'S *Indian Emperor*.

As the clergymen at this period gave the main direction to popular feeling, and were in reality the great moving springs of the civil commotions which followed, it may be necessary to touch upon their character, before proceeding further with this narrative.

The Presbyterian clergy were chiefly men of considerable learning, and of the severest virtue; but it was their enthusiastic zeal in behalf of what they termed true religion, that chiefly distinguished them, and which has given them their historical importance. This zeal may be traced in a great measure to the struggles which they were obliged to maintain, during the first age of the Reformation, with the Catholic interest; which was then so powerful, and was shown in plots and deeds so repugnant to humanity, as to require an enthusiasm of the warmest nature to oppose it. It was also fostered by the attempts which King James made to modify the Scottish creed. Strongly convinced that the doctrine of Calvin was the only true interpretation of the Scriptures, and that

the system of church-government by kirk-sessions, presbyteries, synods, and the General Assembly, was the only system compatible with the existence of true religion, they beheld with loathing the liberal Arminian principles, which were now making their way into the English church, and exclaimed against the Episcopalian model as one replete with human inventions, pride, superstition, and every thing unchristian. There were at this period in Britain two systems of opinion on religious subjects, as there are in the present day two parties in politics. One of these, comprehending the courtiers and other adherents of the church of England, advocated that, instead of subjecting the established religion to a new purgation, a few more ceremonies ought to be introduced into it, with the view of conciliating and drawing over the Catholics, who, as the thing stood, acted as a vigilant and uncompromising enemy both to the state and to the Reformed Faith. The other great party, termed the Puritans, insisted that, as the church of England had not been at first sufficiently purified from the abominations of Rome, it should now be subjected to a thorough cleansing, and that the National Church should then resolve to keep no terms whatever with the Catholics. The Scottish clergy and people ranked entirely under this latter denomination, so far as feeling was concerned, although their church was one established by law, while the English Puritans were only dissenters. And it will presently be seen, that the Great Civil War took its rise in a collision between these two systems of religious opinion; the king, at the head of the church of England, against the great body of English Puritans and Scottish Presbyterians.

An industrious collector of the memorabilia of the Scottish church and its ministers (Wodrow),² has fortunately rendered it possible to give something like a portrait of the Presbyterian clergyman of this period. It can be gathered, that he was a man of grave deportment, always dressed in black clothes, a short cloak hanging from his shoulders, and a ruff arranged round his neck. Every thing about him savoured of his austere and dignified profession; and it is recorded of one, (Mr John M'Birnie, minister of Aberdeen,) that he never rode abroad without two Bibles hanging from his girdle, one Hebrew, and the other English, as also a sand-glass in a leathern case, wherewith to measure off the hours of his preachings: when alone, this person read and mused upon the Bible; when riding in company, he read and preached aloud. It was the object of a Presbyterian clergyman to allow no opportunity to slip, of practising the duties of his profession. In season and out of season, he was perpetually useful. Of Mr John Ker, minister of Lyne, in Peebles-shire, during the reign of James VI., and from whom the present writer has the honour to be descended, it is remembered, that he never, in his walks, allowed a beggar to pass by him, without engaging him in a discussion concerning the state of his soul; and, when he had done what he could towards the spiritual edification of the unfortunate individual, he always administered some pecuniary relief.

It is, indeed, almost incredible in the present day, how much time, how much pains, and what a quantity of zeal, the early reformed clergymen devoted to sacred employments. Mr Welch, the son-in-law of Knox, is computed to have spent the third part of his whole time—that is, eight out

of every twenty-four hours,—in prayer. Not even content with the prayers of the day, it was the custom of this man to rise out of his sleep during the night, and, covering himself negligently with a Scots plaid which he kept for the purpose, sit praying in his bed for several hours. He at last died of a disease, called ossification of the limbs, which was supposed to have been occasioned purely by long-enduring habits of kneeling upon cold stone floors; for this man, in common with his brethren, actually seems to have practised the system of expiation, by penance of the flesh, to fully as great an extent as the Catholic clergy of the early ages. Bodily pain was a thing not to be considered by a Scottish clergyman of this period, or only considered to be despised. It is told of a Mr Alexander Simpson, the minister of Merton and Dryburgh, in Berwickshire, that, having fallen one day and broken his leg, he was found sitting on the ground, holding the fractured limb in his arms, and addressing joyful expressions of praise to the Almighty.

The zeal which this extraordinary race of men displayed in their public exhibitions, was quite as wonderful. Divine service then commenced on Sunday so early as nine o'clock, and continued, with little intermission, till night-fall; no appetite whatever being indulged throughout the day till its close, when it was the custom of the people to solace themselves with a plentiful supper. There was for a long time a proverbial expression among the strangers who visited Scotland, that the only way to make life comfortable on Sunday, was "to dine with an Episcopalian, and sup. with a Presbyterian."³ Not only were religious duties prosecuted with this constancy on the day set apart

for them, but on every day throughout the week there were preachings and prayer-meetings, either in the churches or at the houses of private individuals. Mr Welch, already mentioned, made a point of preaching in public once every day; which, with his private meditations, must certainly be considered an extraordinary degree of exertion. At the celebration of the communion, moreover, it was not an unusual thing to spend a whole week in uninterrupted devotion. There was once an occasion of this kind at Stirling, where two sermons, probably several hours long, were preached every day, and the people observed all the abstinence of a public fast.⁴

But in estimating the exertions of the clergy, we are not to consider their sermons alone, or their ordinary family prayers. It would appear that they never ascended the pulpit without previously spending a considerable time in invoking what they called "the spirit." This was a sort of *divinus afflatus*, which supplied the place of what modern clergymen term study, and without which, to inspire and bless their exertions, they found themselves totally unable either to pray or preach. It was the custom, for instance, of Mr Robert Bruce, the clergyman already mentioned as so remarkable in the History of Scotland for his personal quarrels with King James,⁵ to retire, after the first sermon, to a chamber near the church, where he proceeded to implore the divine aid for the remaining duties of the day. On one occasion, some noblemen, being anxious to see him during the interval of worship, as they had to travel a considerable distance after the evening service, sent the bellman, or bedral, as he is called, to call him out from his place of retirement.

"Presently," says the pious narrator of this incident,⁶ "the man returned, and said, 'I think he shall not come out this day at all, for I hear him always saying to another, that he cannot go except the other go with him, and I do not hear the other answer a word at all.' The poor foolish bellman knew not that he was dealing with God."

In proof of the importance which was attached by the clergy in general to this mysterious system of inspiration, it may be mentioned that Mr Welch, before going to preach, often sent for his elders, and, informing them that "he found himself sorely deserted," so as to be afraid to ascend the pulpit, desired one or two of them to pray with him. He would then proceed to his duties; and "it was observed," says his historian, "that this humbling exercise used ordinarily to be followed with a flame of extraordinary assistance. He would many times retire to the church of Ayr, which was at some distance from the town, and there spend the whole night in prayer; for he used to allow his affections full expression, and prayed not only with an audible, but with a loud voice: nor was that solitude irksome to him the whole night over."

That Mr Welch was in the habit of filling the whole measure of his Sundays with religious exercises, is incidentally testified by an anecdote which is thus related of him, by Mr Livingston. "There was in Ayr, before he came to it, a minister of the town, called Porterfield, who was judged to be a man of no bad inclinations,⁶ but of so easy a disposition, that he would many times go great lengths with his neighbours, in their profane amusements. He used, in particular, to frequent the bow-butts and archery on Sabbath afternoons,⁷ to Mr Welch's great dissatisfaction;

but the way he used to reclaim him was not bitter severity, but gentle policy. Mr Welch, together with John Stuart and Hugh Kennedy, his intimate friends, used to spend the Sabbath afternoons in religious conference and prayer; and to this exercise they invited Mr Porterfield, who of course could not refuse to attend. By these means, he was not only diverted from his former sinful practices, but likewise brought to be more watchful and edifying in the rest of his behaviour."

If the zeal which this distinguished clergyman displayed in the discharge of his duties, can be held as a fair example of what was practised by his brethren, it would appear almost impossible for any ecclesiastical body to surpass the Scotch ministers of the period in the requisite qualities of their order. Not only did Welch pray eight hours a-day in private, and preach once every day in public, besides performing all the laborious duties of the Sabbath, but he exerted himself with equal anxiety in a branch of secular duty, which is certainly much more difficult, as it is also more praiseworthy—the task of humanizing the people. There is an account preserved of his exertions in this way at Ayr, which not only serves to show his infinite zeal, but is also valuable as a picture of the manners of the people residing in the Scottish burghs at the close of the sixteenth century. When he went to reside in Ayr as its clergyman, such was at once the rudeness of the people, and their antipathy to his doctrines, that, although he was already a favoured and respected preacher, not one of the citizens would give him a lease of a house to live in; and he was obliged, for some time, to take shelter with a merchant of the name of Stewart, who alone, of all the rest,

had any veneration for his profession. The people were divided into factions, each infuriated against the other ; and, as in the capital itself at this time,⁸ the streets often became the scene of personal combats, which sometimes were attended with bloodshed. To such an extent did this unhappy system prevail, that it is said to have been absolutely impossible to appear on the streets of Ayr without danger. Mr Welch directed his attention, in the first place, to quell the quarrels of the people, which he saw to be an insuperable obstacle to their spiritual reformation. In this task he did not scruple even to endanger his own person. Whenever he saw two parties begin to fight upon the street, it was his custom to rush into the midst of them, without regard to the swords which flashed, or the blood which flowed on every side ; only using the precaution of first putting on a head-piece ; but scrupulously abstaining from arming himself with any offensive weapon, in order that the people might see he interfered for the suppression, and not the aggravation, of their disputes. After he had succeeded in restoring peace, he used to call for a table, which he caused to be covered on the street, and there he would invite the combatants to eat and drink together, as a token of reconciliation—a mode of cementing broken friendships, which King James himself put in practice on one occasion at the cross of Edinburgh, for the conciliation of a number of his unruly nobles. When these strange feasts were concluded, Mr Welch always sung a psalm, and uttered a suitable exhortation ; practices which, with his ordinary prelections, at length effected the complete civilization of his hitherto barbarous parishioners.

Self-denial, and a contempt for the wealth and vanities of the world, were other remarkable characteristics of the Scottish clergy. Their stipends were invariably small, and they were obliged, in too many instances, to look for support to the eleemosynary contributions of their flocks; yet it is truly wonderful how little affected they seem to have been by their depressed and dependent circumstances. It is, indeed, by no means hypothetical to suppose, that the cheapness in which they held the good things of this world, was, in a great measure, the cause of their aversion to Episcopacy. Knowing the weakness of the human heart, and having the lamentable example of the Catholic system before their eyes, they seem to have entertained an idea that the glitter of mere gold and title, which the dignities of the Episcopalian church held out, was apt to dazzle and mislead all who were subjected to its temptation.⁹ Factionous they may have been, and even, as their enemies insinuate, superstitious and irrational; but it is impossible to deny that the only light which they permitted to guide them in their earthly career, was that which resides in heaven.

Disinterested, however, as their motives might be—however pure might be their feelings, and however lofty their aspirations—it must be acknowledged, the very excess of their enthusiasm led them into errors, which even their best friends cannot help regretting; such were their pretensions to the prophetic character, and their zeal in maintaining the fabric of popular superstition. It may be stated in their defence, that no individual, or body of individuals, is ever found so enlightened as to reject the delusions which prevail in their particular age. Yet it is difficult to find an excuse

for such an edict as the following, which appears on the records of the General Assembly, under the date of 1598. "Because it was reported in the Assemblie, that, albeit sundrie persons were convict of witchcraft, nevertheless civil magistrates refusit not only to punish them conform to the lawes of the country, but also, in contempt of the same, sets the persons at liberty which were convict of witchcraft; therefore the Assemblie ordains that, in all time coming, the presbyteries proceed in all severity with their censures against such magistrates as shall set at liberty any person or persons convict of witchcraft hereafter."¹⁰

As for their pretensions to prophecy, it would appear, that all the clergymen who were distinguished for zeal, or powers of preaching, had also this important gift, and were perpetually using it. The original chronicles of the church abound in instances of successful prediction. We are gravely assured by Calderwood, that Mr John Davidson, "one day seeing Mr John Kerr, the minister of Prestonpans, going in a scarlet cloak, like a courtier, told him to lay aside that abominable dress, as he was destined to succeed him (Mr Davidson) in his ministry; which accordingly came to pass." The same individual was once acting as moderator of the Synod of Lothian, in a meeting at Tranent, when Mr John Spottiswood (afterwards Archbishop of St Andrews, but then only minister of Calder,) and Mr James Law (afterwards Archbishop of Glasgow, but then only minister of Kirkliston,) were called before their brethren, to be censured for playing at the foot-ball on the Sabbath day. Davidson moved, that the culprits should be deposed from their charges; but the synod determined upon a much slighter punish-

ment. When they were called in to receive their sentence, the seer cried out to them, "Come in, you pretty foot-ball men; the synod ordains you only to be rebuked." Then, addressing the meeting, he said, "And now, brethren, let me tell you what reward you shall get for your lenity; these two men shall trample on your necks, and the necks of the whole ministry of Scotland!" But, to show that these failings were rather the fault of the age than of any individuals, it is only necessary to mention, that the venerable and comparatively enlightened Spottiswood himself, in his *History of the Church*, avows a belief in the prophecies of Thomas the Rhymer.¹¹

The influence of the clergy upon the minds of the people, is allowed to have been at this time peculiarly great. Living, in many cases, in the bosoms of private families, and universally revered for the sanctity of both their precept and their example, they had every opportunity of acquiring that enviable, but, in many respects, dangerous power. It must also be remembered, that, if the ritual of the Catholic church imposes upon the imagination, the vehement prelections of the Presbyterians are equally calculated to enlist the understanding and the heart. If the Catholic clergy tickled the senses of the people with their holy shows, or pleased them with the license of frequent days of festival, the reformed ministers took measures equally well calculated to achieve their purpose, by calling them together at great "fasts," and occasions of celebrating the communion. Hence the excessive popularity of the clergy of this period, and hence, in a great measure, their ascendancy over the public mind.

One great cause of the power of the clergy

seems to have been their privilege of inquiring into, bringing to light, and punishing, a great number of petty delinquencies which were not embraced by the civil or criminal laws of the land. The English reader, at least, if not also a great many natives of Scotland, will require to be informed that, at the period in question, the minister of each Scottish parish, forming with a number of lay elders what was called the kirk-session, possessed the power of punishing such offences as incontinence, drunkenness, levity of behaviour on Sunday, and even swearing and scolding. They could not, indeed, inflict a severer penalty than a condemnation to exposure in sackcloth before the congregation; and even that was only to be submitted to if the culprit wished to avoid the scandal of excommunication. Yet, when we consider the shame which attended the unfortunate in one case, and the exclusion from society which followed in the other, it must be allowed that fining and imprisonment were infinitely lighter punishments.

There was perhaps much mischief, both to the community and to the clergy, in the power which the latter thus possessed. The suspected, it must be observed, as well as the really guilty, were exposed to the mercy of the session. We are assured by a churchman of the time,—one of an opposite way of thinking, but who was a man of learning and candour,¹²—that if two persons of opposite sexes were observed in conversation by themselves, the clergyman had it in his power to sequester them, feed them upon bread and water, and subject them to almost the horrors of an inquisition, in order to discover if they were guilty. After falling under suspicion, if they were seen in conversation together, elsewhere than at church

or market, they were held as really guilty. Sometimes, if nothing but levity of behaviour could be proved, the parties were obliged to make public repentance in the church, merely on the ground that they were at least guilty of having given rise to suspicion. "A whole volume," says Maxwell; "might be written of young women, by these courses, disgraced and defamed; of many families divided and scattered, whereas before there was no jealousy betwixt the man and the wife." There were even cases where the interference of the clergy was much more unjustifiable, and much more mischievous: "A certain foolish man having once revealed some of his follies to his wife, she, upon some quarrelling which afterwards took place betwixt her and her husband, went to the minister, and disclosed what was told her; when the honest impartial minister convented the man, charged him with his sin, and made him confesse, satisfy, and doe penance publicquely."

It is easy to see that nothing could be more dangerous for a person in the situation of a clergyman than to have so unlimited a power over his people. It has justly been esteemed improper by the legislature to invest the modern clergy with the power of a justice of the peace, on the score that it would tend to embroil them with their flocks, and distract their minds from the proper objects of their profession. But how much more fatal must it have been to give to the isolated clergyman of a country parish, a control such as that specified over the most intimate domestic concerns of his people?

It seems to have been not the least fatal effect of the system, that it encouraged the Scottish clergy to extend their pretended right of super-

vision to all the external affairs of the world whatever ; even to the concerns of commerce, which may obviously be supposed the most utterly removed beyond the scope of their vision. On some merchants, for instance, sending out a few cargoes of grain from Leith to Spain, in which country there happened to be a famine, the presbytery of Edinburgh—it was in the time of James the Sixth—attempted to inflict ecclesiastical censure upon them, for lending themselves “ to feed and maintain God’s enemies.” On another occasion, they thundered the most vehement invectives against the same merchants for taking a cargo of wax to the same country ; the said wax being chiefly to be employed in making tapers for the illumination of the shrines of the Virgin Mary and other saints.

But perhaps the most extravagant instance of their propensity to meddling, was one in which they attempted to remove a great market or fair, held at Edinburgh every Monday, to another day of the week, on the pretence that, by causing people to travel on the preceding Sunday, it encouraged the too flagrant crime of Sabbath-breaking. There was perhaps some reason, and no doubt there was much sincere piety, in their motives for this interference ; but yet it was, in a great measure, imprudent, in so far as it tended to disturb the commercial regulations of the country, and even threatened to deprive the city altogether of a valuable source of public revenue, as well as private profit. There would have been, however, little danger in the indefeasible power assumed by the clergy, if every one of their aggressions had simultaneously invaded the rights, and called forth the resistance, of so large a body of the people as this. So long as only the follies

of individuals were revised by the ministers—so long as only a few hours of the repentance-stool, or a subjection to the innocuous voice of scandal, were the utmost evils to be apprehended from them—the community was disposed to look upon the matter with a marvellous share of indifference. But when the interests of their purses were concerned, and that to such a great extent, the case was very different. By a principle quite the reverse of that laid down by honest Iago, they who stole their *good name*, stole trash, but they who proposed to filch from them their *purse*, made them poor indeed. *That* was a thing not to be thought of. Accordingly, the good people of the town made the most violent remonstrances against the proposed change; the shoemakers, who were more particularly concerned than any others, even went the length of telling the ministers right down, that, if they persisted in their unreasonable measures, they would “thrust them out of the gates of the city.” When the ministers consequently withdrew their odious act, King James is said to have taken off his hat, lifted up his hands, and exclaimed, with ludicrous fervour, “Have I not reason to thank God, since the shoemakers have more power to repress the insolency and violence of the clergy, than I and my council both!”¹³

The reader will perhaps be little astonished to hear, that it was in the breasts of the fair sex chiefly that these singularly zealous men succeeded in inspiring the genuine flames of devotion. Nor does this apply less to the upper than to the lower classes of society. As a specimen of the eminently pious lady of quality, mention may be made of Lady Culross, who was the daughter of Melville, Laird of Halhill, and a lady of very re-

spectable talents and acquirements for her time. She wrote a religious allegorical poem, called "A Dream," which possesses much merit, and was long popular. It would appear that Lady Culross was constantly riding about, on horseback, along with other Fife ladies, from one preaching to another, to the utter neglect of her house and family. Never was knight-errant so devoted to the search of adventures, as was this lady to the quest after conventicles and prayer-meetings. Indeed, she appears to have sometimes instituted affairs of this kind by her own personal influence; setting the *ton*, as it were, in the external observances of religion.

Not only, however, did she attend all the sermons which she could, but she sometimes condescended to take clerical duties upon herself. In June, 1630, she had, with the assistance of some other ladies, caused an extraordinary confluence of people at the celebration of the communion in the Kirk of Shotts. "The succeeding night," says a pious author,¹⁴ "was spent in prayer by a great many Christians, in a large room where Lady Culross's bed was; and in the morning, all going apart for their private devotion, she went into the bed and drew the curtains, that she might set herself to prayer. William Ridge of Adderney coming into the room, and hearing her have great motion upon her, although she spake not out, desired her to speak out, saying that there were none in the room but him and her woman. She did so, and the door being opened, the room was presently filled full. She continued in prayer, with wonderful assistance, large three hours' time!" It is subsequently recorded that, after her devotions were concluded, the people could not sepa-

rate till they had spent the whole day in supererogatory prayer ; and this is stated to have been the origin of the custom, now indispensable in the administration of the communion in Scotland, of preaching on the subsequent Monday, as a sort of thanksgiving for the blessings of the sacrament.¹⁶

A single anecdote of the private life of Dame Lillias Graham, (Countess of Wigton, and aunt of the celebrated Marquis of Montrose,) which has been preserved by the same author, may be cited as highly illustrative of the general character of these pious ladies. " Her chambermaid," says Livingston, " told me, that as soon as she rose and put on her night-gown, before she went to her study for her devotion, she used to sit in a chair till that maiden combed her head, having the Bible open before her, and reading and praying among hands ; and every day at that time, said the woman, my lady shed more tears than ever I did all my lifetime."

Of the " singularly pious Christian women" of humble life, a very curious specimen is described by the same author, in the person of Eupheme Macallan, who lived at Kilconquhar in Fife—" a poor woman, but rich in faith." Eupheme seldom prayed, says her biographer, without getting a positive answer. " One time," he adds, " the Lady Culross desired her to pray for her, in regard of the outward condition of her family ; and when her ladyship inquired what answer she got, Eupheme said the answer was, ' He that provides not for his own house denieth the faith ;' whereat Lady Culross said, ' Now you have killed me—for I go to preachings and communions here and there, neglecting the care of my family.' Effie replies, ' Mistress, if ye be guilty in that sort, you

have reason to be humbled for it ; but it was not said in that sense to me. The Lord said, He that provides not for his own is worse than an infidel : will not I provide for her and her house, seeing she is mine ?" At another time, the Lady Culross and her sister-in-law Lady Halhill, and some other ladies, being at a communion in Kinnear, desired Effie to pray for them. When she returned, she told that the Lord had said to her, ' Go, thou little worm, and say to the great worms that they tremble before me.' "

The following anecdote is perhaps more honourable to the heart of this singular person than the two preceding are to her understanding. " Mr Blair told me, that when he was regent of the College of Glasgow, one vacance, going to Inverness, to see Mr Robert Bruce,¹⁷ he went out of his way to see Effie Macallan. She inquired if he was a preacher ; when he said ' Yes,' she said, ' You look ower fine-like, with your bulkie ruffe. If you resolve to be a minister, you must have the tar-pig [tar-pipkin] by your belt, and be ready to give a smot to every one of Christ's sheep as they come by you.' He would needs give her a dollar, but heard thereafter that she bought baps and sybaws [rolls and onions], and gave to all the poor, as they came by, so long as it lasted."

Many other circumstances might be gleaned from the familiar records of the time, to prove the influence which women then exercised over the religious world. It is mentioned, for instance, by Calderwood, that, on his flying to Holland, to avoid the wrath of the king, his pockets were " weill filled by the godly wiffis of Edinburgh." When the nation was imploring Charles to spare them the abomination of the Service-book, no petition was

expressed so warmly, or so numerously signed, as that from the same pious "wiffis."¹⁸ It is, in fact, to "the godly valeyancie of devout women," that the Presbyterian historians of the Civil War generally ascribe the successful resistance of King Charles's Episcopalian innovations. Guthry, a cavalier historian, alleges, that when the leading Presbyterians resolved to rabble out the new liturgy, in 1637, they met in the house of Nicholas Balfour, in the Cowgate of Edinburgh, and, taking council with the said Nicholas, with Euphame Henderson, with Bethia and Elspa Craig, and several other matrons, appointed them to begin the tumult, with an assurance that the men would soon after take the business out of their hands.¹⁹ It is, moreover, evident that no extent of hospitality was judged by the females of the period as too great to be bestowed upon the clergy, whether they were merely engaged in journeys, or were cast loose upon society by royal oppression. Their importance as housewives thus coming into alliance with their consequence in a political and religious point of view, it seems not at all wonderful that the preachers applied their precepts with peculiar zeal to "the wiffis." And it is really somewhat amusing, with reverence be it spoken, to see, from the minute chroniclers of the age, what scenes of mingled spiritual and temporal comfort—what feasts at once of body and soul—took place occasionally in the houses of zealous laymen.

"At eve he's expected—and what wight, till he comes,
Dare profane the great chair, or the porridge of plums?
For the best of the cheer, and the seat by the fire,
Are the undenied right of the barefooted friar."

The male devotees, or, as they were emphati-

cally called, "the professors," with less ostentatious enthusiasm than the women, seem to have been equally firm in their attachment to the popular religion. The conduct of Sir John Hamilton at the Riding of the Black Parliament, has already been given as an instance of this in the upper ranks of society. It may now be mentioned, that that gentleman was immediately indebted to the instructions of Mr Davidson, the minister of Prestonpans, for the admirable firmness which he displayed in that dark hour of general defection and meanness. Many other instances might be given; for Mr Livingston, in his Memoirs, has commemorated the names and characters of at least fifty distinguished *professors* of his day. But it is enough to mention that all the nobility of Scotland, except a few, almost all the gentry or barons, the most of even the king's state officers, together with the wealthiest men in the burghs, and the great bulk of the common people, were decided in their affection for the evangelical doctrines now preached by the Presbyterian clergy. Since that period, in consequence of the Episcopalian system having been the court religion during two subsequent reigns, many of the nobility and gentry have become attached to that church. But at the period under review,—that is, the age which intervened between the Reformation and the reign of Charles I., no such religion was known in the country; nor, indeed, any other than the Presbyterian, except the Romish faith, which was only maintained by the Marquis of Huntly in the north, by the Earls of Angus and Abercorn in the midland counties, and by the Earl of Nithsdale on the border.

Such was the condition of the country into which the unfortunate Charles was about to introduce a

new and unpopular religion. The enthusiasm of the people was as yet, to all appearance, quiet and harmless, like a sword in the scabbard. It is soon to be seen, called out from its hiding-place, flashing in the gaze of mankind, and performing deeds of the most striking and terrible interest.

CHAPTER III.

INTRODUCTION OF THE SERVICE-BOOK.

What work's, my countrymen, in hand? where go you
 With bats and clubs? The matter? Speak, I pray you.
Coriolanus.

It has been already mentioned that King James restored the bishops in the year 1606, and procured the ratification, by Parliament, of five portions of Episcopalian discipline, in 1621. Till his death in 1625, he met with no practical success in his endeavours to convert the people. Though he caused his council to enjoin the observation of Christmas and other holidays, nobody paid the slightest attention to his orders, except his own officers and dependents. It is mentioned in a chronicle of the time, that, even during the time of public worship, on one of these days,¹ there were at least an hundred shops open in the town of Edinburgh alone. On one occasion of celebrating the communion, only seven persons, out of all the population of the city, obeyed the Articles of Perth by kneeling. His decrees had been passed in the most formal manner : bishops had been created, and a court of High Commission had been formed, to inflict what punishment it pleased, under death, upon the clergy who should neglect the duties prescribed by the new religion ; but, so far as the real daily practices

of the people were concerned, Scotland was as yet quite as much Presbyterian as ever it had been since the Reformation.

The accession of Charles I. opened up a new prospect to the Scottish church. This prince was much less disposed than his father to dally with the prejudices of the people. What his father only wished for the sake of polity, he deemed indispensable for the sake of conscience. James invaded the Scottish clergy with the power of a prince ; but Charles directed against it the implacable fury of a zealot. The heart of this monarch was mild and amiable in the highest degree ; but his mind was darkened with the gloom of fanaticism, and it was his misfortune to have been educated under the idea, that his power as a king was absolute, even over the minds of his subjects. He had scarcely been seated on the throne, when he began to put in execution that series of violent and unreasonable measures in regard to the Presbyterians, which were destined to prove his ultimate ruin.

His first measure was to procure a revocation of those tithes or benefices which had been appropriated by the nobles at the Reformation, and which ought then to have formed, as at present, the support of the clergy. With these he hoped to endow the bishops and other dignitaries, in such a way as to make them appear respectable in the eyes of their brethren. This measure, however, though strictly legal, was warmly, and almost unanimously resisted by a Convention of Estates ; the nobles being naturally unwilling to part with a source of wealth which had been in their possession so many years. Such was the excessive disinclination to this proposal, that, on its being understood that the court was to force it through, as

it had forced the ratification of the Five Articles, a plot was laid to assassinate the commissioner (the Earl of Nithsdale), and also all those who should give their votes in favour of the appropriation. The execution of this dreadful scheme, so characteristic of the time, was to take place in the very house where the convention met; and it is told, that one blind and infirm old nobleman² was seated, at his own request, next to the Earl of Dumfries, whom he grasped with one hand as if to support himself, while in the other he secreted a dagger, to be plunged into the heart of his unsuspecting neighbour on the first commotion. Nithsdale, intimidated by their hostile appearance, was obliged to return to court without accomplishing his object. But, with the assistance of the church, Charles was soon after able to carry his measures into practice, though not without alienating the affections of what was then the most powerful body in the kingdom.

At a visit to his native kingdom in 1633, he was also successful in procuring the privilege of appointing suitable dresses to the clergy, which he considered a great step towards the grand object. On this occasion, Laud, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, provoked the hatred of many of the clergy by censuring their ecclesiastical customs. The king excited fully as much horror among the people, by the levity of his behaviour on the afternoons of the Sundays, which at that time were spent by the courtiers and thorough Episcopalians, in the amusements sanctioned by King James's Book of Sports, while the Presbyterians, as already mentioned, devoted them exclusively to religious exercises. Row, a contemporary ecclesiastical historian,³ relates, with many expressions of censure, that the

king, after attending the forenoon service in St Giles's church, retired with the magistrates to the banqueting-house, adjacent to that sacred edifice, when such a noise of riotous drinking speedily arose, as almost rendered the afternoon service inaudible, and fairly scandalized the senses of the congregation.

The next measure, and that which at length gave immediate impulse to the insurrection, was the introduction of the liturgy, or Service-Book. King James, so far back as 1616, had extorted from the General Assembly, an act authorizing the composition of a Book of Common-prayer. This sovereign had often had bitter occasion to execrate the custom of extemporary prayer in Scotland, which enabled the clergymen to animadvert with impunity upon his public measures, and to stir up the hearts of the people against his person. He had observed the political meekness of the English beneficed clergy; and he resolved, if possible, to effect a uniformity between the two kingdoms in a point so materially affecting his happiness. He left it, however, to Charles to carry the scheme into effect. Charles first announced his intention of imposing a liturgy on the Scottish church to his counsellor Laud, in 1629; ⁴ but it was not till 1636, that he ultimately saw fit to carry it into execution. Laud had been at this time exerting himself to restore a few ancient ceremonies to the church, which had fallen into disuse since the early ages of Christianity, and which seemed calculated to further his favourite scheme of conciliating the Catholics. He therefore took an active hand in the reduction of Scotland to the Episcopalian form; and, in particular, urged that the English Common-prayer should at once be introduced. His reason-

ing and influence were compelled to yield to the obstinacy of the Scottish bishops, who deemed it a disgrace to their country to owe either the discipline or service of their church to their English neighbours. It was therefore determined that a code of discipline or canons, founded upon the acts of the General Assembly, should be in the meantime introduced, and that the Service-Book, or Liturgy, should be prepared against the succeeding year. This task was assigned to four bishops, not the oldest and most moderate, who already dreaded the consequences of such an innovation, but to the youngest and least prudent, who professed to see no danger in what was proposed.

The Episcopalian Book of Canons was introduced in 1636, and by it the whole system of Presbyterian government was at once laid prostrate, while the right of the king to overlook the proceedings of the church was confirmed, and a way prepared for the forthcoming liturgy. A more chivalrous, or more daring deed, was perhaps never done by any former monarch ; and it is really impossible to conceive that any thing less than the sternest necessity could have urged Charles to do it, or that any thing else than an idea, that he was the deputy of God, could have permitted him. The Book of Common-prayer appeared next spring, in splendid folio, prefaced by a charge from the king, by which the pain of *horning*—that is, of being declared rebels—was denounced against all who refused it. It was nearly similar to the English form, but mixed up with a number of additional superstitious observances, such as Laud wished to introduce eventually into the Church of England also ; it being thought proper, when making an alteration in Scotland, to go at once to the full extent of what was

intended by this great Episcopalian reformer regarding the church of both countries. Every clergyman throughout Scotland was ordered to buy two copies of the liturgy for the use of his parish ; and the use of it was enjoined to commence, at Edinburgh, on the approaching Easter. Some circumstances afterwards occurred to prevent its introduction at that time, and the day eventually fixed on was the 23d of July ; by which, allowance might be made for the Lords of Session to give it their protection before their rise on the first of August ; while the litigants, then in Edinburgh, would at the same time be prepared to carry home a favourable report of it to their various places of abode throughout the country.

The Scotch were at this time, be it remarked, quite as much disposed to pay a loyal deference to their sovereign, as he was disposed to extort their obedience. It was in reality their superstitious veneration for his office and person, that mainly inspired him with his absurd notions regarding his infallibility. If he had made aggressions upon any other of their possessions but their consciences, they would have crouched to him with the servility of slaves. But it was another thing when he required them to forego their religion ; a property in which Scotland at that time supposed itself to be richer than any country in the world, though the poorest ; it acknowledged, in every species of worldly wealth. This was a matter which rested chiefly with the bulk of the people ; but there were others which affected the truly influential class of the country, to wit, the nobility. The revocation of the tithes has been already mentioned as a reason for this powerful body having been disgusted with the new religion. To this must be added, their

indignation at the cold and imperious haughtiness with which the king commanded them to give him their support, and his partiality in bestowing the chief offices of the state upon churchmen. He had given the highest office—that of Lord Chancellor—to Spottiswood, the Archbishop of St Andrews, and placed nine of the bishops in the privy council. When they saw men of ordinary or inferior birth, engrossing the honours and emoluments which had hitherto been distributed among themselves, they felt disposed to make common cause against Episcopacy and all its adherents. In this, both the clergy and the people sympathized with them ; for Scotland at this period had not the sagacity to see, that a system of dignities in the church was nothing else than opening up a prospect of preferment to the honourable ambition of the middle ranks. Besides all these causes of disgust with Episcopacy, the nobles had one other, arising from the trial of Lord Balmerino, an occurrence which made a great noise at that time. Lord Balmerino, for only having in his possession a petition which the Presbyterian lords intended to have presented to the king, was seized, imprisoned for several months in Edinburgh castle, and eventually tried and found guilty of what was in Scotland called “leasing-making”—that is, the crime of uttering or possessing libels upon the government, which was considered the same with high treason, and was punished with similar severity. It was not without the greatest difficulty that Charles was induced to pardon this nobleman, whose only real fault was the opposition he had given to the royal will on the occasion of an act passing through parliament in 1633. The persecution which he suffered, the dreadful danger he so nearly escaped,

and the tedious imprisonment which he endured, all made a strong impression on the Scottish nobles, who saw from what had taken place, that they had no safety in the land without implicit submission, so long as the king was resolved, or permitted, to pursue his religious innovations.

With trifling exceptions, therefore, such as the Catholic noblemen, and a portion of the north country, the whole inhabitants of Scotland, of whatever rank, may be described as at this time *banded* in one common cause against the religion which Charles was endeavouring to introduce. The people for conscience-sake, and the better classes from motives of interest—all were alike resolute in their opposition to this detested form of worship. The very officers of state were not true to the service of their master, but entered into the views of the nation, if not with ostentatious activity, at least with secret good-will. The Earl of Traquair, Lord High Treasurer, having reason to fear that the Bishop of Ross would one day supplant him in his office, is generally affirmed to have instigated Charles in his imprudent measures, merely for the purpose of procuring the downfall of the whole Episcopalian system.

As the day approached which had been appointed for the opening of the Service-Book, an ominous clamour arose among the people, to the effect that the new forms were those of Popery, and the liturgy nothing else but the mass. The popular mistake being encouraged by the nobility and clergy, it soon reached a dreadful height, in-somuch that the older and more moderate bishops saw fit to advise Laud, that the book should be withdrawn in the meantime, and not presented till a more favourable opportunity. This advice,

however, was not acceptable to the zealous primate, who conceived it would be a confession of weakness to make any delay ; and in this resolution he was encouraged by the younger bishops of the Scottish church, as well as by Traquair, who affected to be so confident of success, that he was willing to take the risk upon his own shoulders. Laud operated Traquair, according to his desire, with this important duty ; and the treasurer soon appeared in Scotland with a royal warrant, ordering the bishops to proceed with the work, under pain of being supplanted by more obedient men.

On the Sunday before that appointed for the change of worship, the ministers of Edinburgh, according to order, addressed their several congregations with a panegyric on the Service-Book, and informed them that it would be introduced on the next Lord's day. The people listened without any expressions of disapprobation ; but not the less surely had their plans been laid for resisting the obnoxious volume. The more zealous of the Presbyterian clergy had agreed with the chief of the nobility upon the proper agents to be employed for the purpose ; and already was the whole scheme formed for covering the new religion with disgrace and confusion.

It might now be expected, that, where the object in view was no less than the preservation of religion, and, by implication, the ultimate assurance of eternal welfare, the proceedings of the recusants would have been characterised by appropriate dignity—that there would have been an extreme of either active or passive resistance, either a sudden massacre or a national fit of the sullen. Instead of either of these contingencies, the affair took a turn purely ludicrous, and exhibited only

the ordinary features of a vulgar riot. The pamphleteers of the period, in their approbation of the tumult, have fortunately handed down a very minute account of it ; and, as it can scarcely fail to amuse the reader, it is here given at length.⁵

On Sunday, the 23d of July, 1637, the Cathedral church of Edinburgh, now known by the title of the High church,⁶ was attended by both of the archbishops, various bishops, the Lords of Session, the magistrates of the city, and a vast promiscuous assemblage of the common people. To do all possible honour to the day, the Bishop of Edinburgh designed to preach. After the "reader," as the humblest official in a Scottish church was then called, had read out the ordinary prayers, the dean, Mr James Hanna, a man peculiarly obnoxious, opened the famous Service-Book, and began to read the new liturgy. The people, who had hitherto been perfectly quiet, as if to testify that they had no ill will to any thing but the book, no sooner heard the commencement of the service, than they rose tumultuously, began to clap their hands, uttered the most discordant cries, and soon fairly overwhelmed the voice of the minister. The most outrageous were observed to be women, and those chiefly serving-maids, who were then in the custom of bringing movable seats, and keeping them for their masters and mistresses. Some cried, "Woe, woe ! for this dolefu' day, that they are bringing in Popery among us !" Others, less delicate, called out to the dean, in allusion to some unrecorded circumstance of his life, "Ill-hanged thief ! gif at that time when thou wentest to court, thou hadst been weill-hanged as thou wast ill-hanged, thou hadst not been here, to be a pest to God's church this day !" And he was also salu-

ted with the title of "a devil's gett (child), and one of a witch's breeding." After a great deal of abusive language had been expended, an old woman, Janet Geddes by name, hearing the bishop call upon the dean to proceed with the *collect* of the day, exclaimed in a voice loud enough to be heard above the hubbub, "Deil *colic* the wame o' ye!" and aimed at the head of the Dean the small movable stool on which she sat.⁷ A shower of clasp Bibles followed, to the amount, says one chronicler, of "whole pockfulls." Providentially, Mrs Geddes's "ticket of remembrance," as a merry annalist of the period terms it, did not take effect; the dean having the wisdom "to jouk," that is, to crouch, before it reached him, so that it passed over his head.

In the midst of the hubbub, the bishop courageously mounted the pulpit, which was situated exactly above the place where the dean sat. He there endeavoured to recall the unruly mob to a sense of what was due to the holy ground on which they stood. But all his eloquence was in vain. They saluted him with the uncourtly epithets of "Crafty fox!"—"False antichristian wolf!"—and, in allusion to his corpulency, "Beastly bellygod!" An attempt was even made to aim at his head a similar *billet* to that which had just been thrown at the dean, though fortunately it was intercepted by some one present before it reached its destination.⁸ The Archbishop of St Andrews then rose up in his gallery, and attempted to address the mob, but with as little success. At length the magistrates were commanded to descend, and clear the church with the strong hand. They did so, but succeeded not without great difficulty. Finally, when the doors were closed, and service

was once more commenced, the mob attacked the windows with stones, and kept up such a loud and incessant howl round the walls, as effectually marred the great business of the day.

A circumstance took place at this time within the church, which is so characteristic that it can upon no account be omitted. An old woman, who had endeavoured to get out with the rest of the non-conformists, but without succeeding, took up her station in a remote corner of the cathedral, where she began to read her Bible, and endeavoured to stop her ears against the polluting sounds of the Service-Book. As she was thus engaged, a young man who sat behind her, happened to pronounce the word *Amen* so audibly at the close of one of the prayers, as to disturb the strain of her devotions. Quite enraged at the near presence of what she esteemed so vile an abomination, she started up from her seat, gave the offender a severe blow with both her hands on the face, and thundered into his astounded ears, "Fause thief, is there nae other part o' the kirk where ye may say your mass, but ye maun say't at my lug?"⁹ "The young man," says the pamphleteer who tells the story,¹⁰ "being dashed with such an unexpected rencountre, gave place to silence in sign of his recantation."

When the congregation came to be dismissed, a new scene of outrage and clamour took place on the street. The good bishop, unapprehensive of violence to his person, left the church on foot and unattended, and attempted to walk through the mob, towards a house at a little distance, which the author supposes to have been appointed for his use during the interval between morning and evening service. No sooner was his stout figure ob-

served, than the crowd rushed violently upon him, crying that he was bringing in Popery among them, and that he deserved no mercy at their hands. One of the women present exclaimed, with a half-humorous, half-diabolical earnestness, "Fy, if I had the thrapple out of him!" And when somebody observed, that, though she obtained her wish, a worse man might be appointed in his place,—“After Cardinal Beaton was stickit,” answered this virago, with an inhumanity almost incredible of her sex, “we never had another cardinal; and sae, if that fause Judas was stickit, and cut off, his place would become so ominous, that scarce any man durst hazard, or undertake to be his successor.”

In the midst of this infuriate rabble, the bishop was dreadfully pelted and bruised; but he at length reached his house, which, according to the fashion of the time, was a tall mansion in the High Street, having what is called in Scotland an *outside stair*, leading up to the second story. As the worthy man was endeavouring to ascend this stair, one of the rude multitude seized him by the sleeve, and nearly pulled him backward, so as to endanger his life. When he, at length, reached the top, and was in the hope of immediately finding refuge within the house, to his inconceivable vexation the outer door was found to be locked, so that he could only turn round and stand at bay, like a stag, against the pressure of his unrelenting enemies. Often, in that hour of great distress, did he exclaim, in answer to their reproaches about the Service-Book, that “he had not the wyte” of it.” Disregarding alike his protestations of innocence, and his intreaties for mercy, they hustled him down into the street, where eventually he was nearly trod to death. At length, the Earl of Wemyss, his

next-door neighbour, perceiving the perplexity and danger in which he was involved, either from respect to his character, or motives of mere humanity, sent a party of servants to his assistance, who, exerting their strength among the rabble, speedily rescued the unhappy prelate, and brought him, almost breathless, into the earl's lodging.¹²

In the other churches of the city, the Service-Book met with no better success. Some of the ministers had wisely not produced it at all, intending first to hear how it succeeded in the cathedral. In the Greyfriars' church, where the clergyman was an expectant bishop, and consequently anxious for its introduction, it was received with nearly the same symptoms of violent disgust and antipathy as in St Giles's, though without any of the actual violence. Altogether, it was apparent that the attempt was a decided failure.

During the interval between morning and evening service, such of the privy council as were in town met at the lord chancellor's house, to deliberate upon what had taken place, and to determine how the king's government ought to proceed in such a case. To withdraw the Service-Book immediately was, of course, out of the question; and a resolution was therefore entered into, to perform divine service with it once more in the afternoon, the magistrates promising to do their utmost to maintain peace. At the proper time, a strong guard being placed at the door of the church, the same dignitaries, who had been present in the forenoon, assumed their places; but the common people, and especially the women, were carefully excluded. The service was thus performed with some degree of quietness, the mob only expressing

their rage at what was going on by cries of "No Popery!" on the street.

The bishop was destined once more, before the evening of this eventful day, to risk his life in behalf of his religion. On his leaving the church, the protection of the magistrates, under which he had placed himself, was found to be insufficient, and the mob were once more proceeding to take those liberties with his person which had proved so nearly fatal to him in the forenoon. At this distressing juncture, the Earl of Roxburgh, lord privy seal, whose coach stood close at hand, kindly took him in, and commanding his servants to drive off, conveyed him safely down the street, to his residence at Holyroodhouse. The coach was dreadfully pelted by the way, and the coachman, as the writer of "Stoneyfield Day" facetiously remarks, "got plenty of hard lapidary coin for his drink-siller." But the bishop had reason to be thankful that he was so speedily and so easily conveyed out of the hands of his enemies, who might have otherwise, in this day of terrible excitement, made an end of his life.

The bishops, next day, without consulting with the council, sent off a letter to the king, informing him of the bad success of their attempt, and throwing the chief blame upon the Earl of Traquair, who had been absent from town. On the same day, the council met, and issued a proclamation, commanding the inhabitants of Edinburgh to refrain in future from such tumultuous behaviour, under pain of death. Six or seven serving-women, supposed to have been peculiarly active in the disturbance, were put into prison; and the city of Edinburgh was declared to be liable for all the mischief which might hereafter be done, or the disobedience which

might be shown to the commands of the king. All the ministers and readers who had not used the Service-Book on the preceding day were called up and silenced; the daily preachings and prayers were expressly prohibited; and, in a religious point of view, Edinburgh was laid completely waste.¹³

It was now that the separation of interests between the council and the bishops became apparent. The former, indignant that the bishops should have sent a letter to the king without their concurrence, dispatched another for themselves on Friday, in which they reflected, in pretty plain terms, upon the imprudence and precipitation of the prelates. On the succeeding day, the bishops informed the council that they judged it necessary to suppress the liturgy till the king's pleasure should be known; on which occasion the councilors coldly remarked, that in that matter their lordships were at liberty to do exactly as they pleased. It now, indeed, began to appear, and soon became still more conspicuous, that these unfortunate ecclesiastics formed an interest entirely isolated in the country—an interest in which no person or class of persons had the least sympathy, but which was every where and every way obnoxious, as a foreign junto transplanted into the land for a base and most unpatriotic purpose.

Although the king had been carefully informed that none but the meanest people were engaged in the tumult, great apprehensions were entertained, both in Edinburgh and throughout the country, regarding the answer which he should make. In the meantime, some of the bishops exerted themselves to enforce the order for the purchase of the liturgy; and in the diocese of St Andrews two of the clergymen were charged to use it, under the

pain of immediate horning. The Archbishop of Glasgow, at the convocation of his synod, in the end of August, caused one of his clergy to preach in favour of the Service-Book, with the view of mollifying the people ; but it was found that in that city the new doctrines had made no better progress than in Edinburgh. The preacher, Mr William Annan, on his leaving the church, was assailed with the most violent reproaches by a numerous band of devout females ; and, in the evening, he met with a still more unequivocal manifestation of popular disapprobation. About nine o'clock, after supper, on his stepping out into the street with three or four ministers, with the intention of visiting the archbishop, he was no sooner observed, than he was surrounded by a multitude of the same viragoes, who proceeded, in the first place, to batter him with their fists, with sticks, and with pieces of peat, then rent off his cloak, hat, and ruff, and finally, gave him what may be called in vulgar phrase a sound beating. The poor man roared lustily, which soon brought a number of the neighbours to their windows with lights ; and the street being thus illuminated,¹⁴ the fair assaulters quitted their victim, for fear of their faces being recognised. No inquiry could be made into this riot, because it was feared that the better orders of the people were chiefly concerned in it. Next day, Mr Annan was conducted by the magistrates, with great apparent honour, to the place where he was to mount his horse in order to quit the town ; but here a new misfortune befell him. He had scarcely with his " desperate toe" poised himself upon his left stirrup, ere he fell headlong, his horse above him, in a dirty puddle ; and the ridicule excited by his misadventure with the women was more

than doubled by the ludicrous appearance which he exhibited as he departed from the town.

In no other part of Scotland was the Service-Book received with a better welcome. The Bishop of Ross, who for some time past had used the English liturgy in his cathedral at Fortrose, found little difficulty in substituting the Scottish edition. The Bishop of Brechin, on the recusancy of the minister, caused it to be read by his servant. In St Andrews it was used for a few days ; and at Dumblane it was read by a clergyman whom the Presbyterian historians describe as a " corrupt worldling." But, with the exception of these cathedral towns, where the influence of the bishops was of course considerable, besides the towns of Dingwall, in Ross, and St Fillans, in Perthshire, the country at large rejected it with unequivocal symptoms of disgust.¹⁵

The answer which the king returned to the council was of such a nature as to make little change upon the state of affairs. He had only been given to understand that the meanest of the people were engaged in the tumult ; and it did not yet strike his senses that there could be any real, or, at least, any violent aversion, to the Service-Book in the minds of the general public. He therefore only directed that the council should censure the guilty persons for their rudeness, and that the proceedings, in regard to the new liturgy, should just go on as if nothing had happened.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SUPPLICATION.

Others ran flocking out of their houses to the general Supplication.

2 Maccabees, iii. 18.

THE lay members of the privy council now showed, by a most remarkable piece of conduct, either how much they sympathized with the feelings of the country, or how deeply they hated the clerical dignitaries who had been associated with them in office. Four clergymen, of the dioceses of St Andrews and Glasgow, who had been charged to use the Service-Book, presented a petition to the council on the 23d of August, begging for a suspension of the horning, with which their respective bishops had threatened them. The prelates expected that the council would reject this petition without a hearing, being as yet unaware of the secret disgust in which they were held by that body. To their infinite astonishment and mortification, the council received the petition, granted the desired suspension till his majesty's pleasure should be known, and declared, by an express act, that the letters of horning which they had granted, were only of force against such as did not *buy* the books, and not against those who refused to *use* them. An answer was expected from the king re-

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garding the Supplication, before the 20th of September, which was the next day for the sitting of the privy council; and to that day the petitioners were referred for ultimate judgment.

As these four petitioners were the first men of note who presented themselves in opposition to the innovations, and as they were in a manner the fathers of the whole covenanting party, it may be necessary to mention their names. The most distinguished was Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars, in Fife, "a man of wonderful gravity, learning, wisdom, and state-policy,"¹ and one who was destined to take a prominent place in all the succeeding troubles. The rest were Mr R. Wilkie, Mr James Bonnar, and Mr William Castlelaw; who, it must be mentioned, did not petition for themselves personally, as Mr Henderson did, but severally represented whole presbyteries in the Glasgow diocese, of which the members had been charged by the archbishop.

It is to be observed, that the opposition which had hitherto been made to the Service-Book proceeded entirely from the mob, or from women, who alone could venture upon such a course, as the vengeance of government would have instantly overtaken any more prominent or respectable malcontents: and it is to this day a question among the Presbyterian and Cavalier historians, whether this was the result of concert or of chance. From whatever cause it originated, there can be no doubt that the Presbyterian clergy and popular leaders afterwards openly exulted in the circumstance, comparing it (with but a poor compliment to the agents, it must be confessed) to the miracle of Balaam's ass, and also pointing out that, as the active proceedings of the Reformation had origi-

nated in a stone thrown by the hand of a boy, so had this second reformation commenced with a stool cast by the hand of a woman. The irreverent wits of the court party were for a long time in the habit of rallying their opponents upon this point, and used to insinuate, with supererogatory malice, that the lady in question had only a short time before the tumult sat upon a stool of larger dimensions and darker complexion, for the sin of incontinence. But the Presbyterians were never afterwards ashamed to acknowledge their obligations to the valiant heroine; and the name of Janet Geddes is to this day commemorated with some degree of affection and respect, as among the most venerable in their calendar of worthies.

The time was now approaching when the true managers of public affairs in Scotland—to wit, her ancient and chivalric nobility—were to come forward and take their proper place of mediation betwixt the king and his subjects. The petitions of the four clergymen had been recommended by letters from certain grandees, who were friendly to their object;² but before the answer was returned from the king, upwards of ten nobles had assembled at Edinburgh, to support and countenance them in case of an unfavourable reply. Besides these, a great number of gentry, or barons, as they were termed in Scotland, especially from the conspicuously Whig county of Fife, came to Edinburgh for the same purpose. And, as the harvest was now finished, the country people in general, at least all such as could afford the expenses of the journey, or were very zealous in the cause, flocked, by a sort of common consent, to await this momentous crisis. The 20th of September was looked forward to, it may be said, by

the whole nation, with a degree of anxiety and perturbation, almost equal to that with which the crew of a lonely ship watches the dawning energies of a probable storm.

It would have now been easy for Charles to appease this formidable insurrection, by withdrawing, or even by merely postponing, the offensive liturgy. Unfortunately, his own prejudices, the pride of Laud, and a complete misapprehension of the real respectability of the opposition, urged him to continue in the unhappy line of policy which he had already adopted. In his reply, which he transmitted to Scotland by the Duke of Lennox, who had come to attend the funeral of his mother, the Countess of Abercorn, at Paisley, he reprehended the lenity of his councillors to the authors of the tumult, refused their reasonable request that he would call a committee of their number before him, for the purpose of explaining the true state of the public mind, and commanded the immediate resumption of the liturgy, which he severely blamed them for ever having intermitted. He evidently calculated with security upon the disposition which the Scots had ever shown to submit implicitly to the royal commands, and thought that the mere expression of his will in a letter would be sufficient to dispel all opposition and replace the odious religion. He was now to learn, however, that, servile as this people were to their temporal rulers in temporal things, they were utterly indomitable where they considered their eternal interests as at stake. He was like the revolutionary dictator of France, who entered the senate-house to command the proscription of half his fellows, but who found, instead of the obsequious smiles he expected, a dagger in every hand pointed at his own bosom. This was

the very Rubicon of his enterprise against the liberties of his Scottish subjects, after passing which it was impossible for him to withdraw a step without humiliation and danger, while his people were equally unable to permit his retreat without compromising all chance of domestic security.

Vexed, but not terrified, by the King's answer, the multitude which had assembled at Edinburgh resolved to renew their application for redress. They presented innumerable private supplications to the council; the clerk of which, it was remarked at the time, received no less than two hundred dollars in one day, in fees, being a dollar for each petition. It was also determined that a true representation of the popular feeling should be sent up to his majesty by the Duke of Lennox, who was now in Edinburgh on his way back to court. To give all possible effect to this matter, it was resolved to impress the duke's eye, as well as his mind, with a true sense of the case. On a day, therefore, when he was to pay a public visit to the privy council, the whole assembled band presented themselves to him as he passed along the spacious street of Edinburgh. There were present, the Earls of Sutherland, Rothes, Cassilis, Home, Lothian, Kinnoull, Wemyss, and Dalhousie; the Lords Montgomery, Fleming, Lindsay, Elcho, Yester, Sinclair, Loudoun, Balmerino, Burleigh, Dalziel, Cranstoun, and Boyd; almost all the barons of the counties adjacent to the capital; commissioners from a great number of burghs and presbyteries; about ninety ministers, including the whole presbytery of Stirling; and a prodigious concourse of respectable countrymen. "All the noblemen," says the Earl of Rothes, in his minute manuscript relation, "met at Lord Wemyss's

lodging, in one Aikman's, where they drew a petition to the council, and appointed two of their number to attend the Duke of Lennox, by ranking themselves over against the entry to the tolbooth, and three, who were of his particular acquaintance, to speak to him as he passed along. When his grace came up the way, the ministers were all ranked betwixt the Cross and the Luckenbooths, on the south side of the gait (*street*), and the nobility and gentry all ranked on the north side of the gait, over against the Luckenbooths, even till they reached up to the Stinking Style.³ They all saluted the duke very low as he passed. They attended all the forenoon, giving in their petitions to the council, but got no hearing. The council coming out at 12 o'clock, the duke went down to dinner in the Abbey (the palace of Holyroodhouse, so called); and the petition, which had not been touched or read, being retrieved from the clerk, was carried thither also by the Earl of Rothes, and shown to the Treasurer Traquair, who drew it over again, and made it very smooth, advising that they should endeavour not to irritate any. At half three afternoon, the treasurer came again up the way, when the noblemen, being in the same order as in the forenoon, waited upon him into the council-house. When there, he retired, with the chancellor and other bishops and councillors, into the banqueting-house, within the council-house, where they stayed an hour and a half, and then sent for the duke, who coming, they ushered the house. The Earl of Sutherland presented the petition to the clerk, and desired it might be read. The noblemen then retiring to the laigh council-house, where the justice sits, awaited the answer of the chancellor, who, delaying till immediately

before their rising, called in Sutherland and Wemyss, and told them, that the council had taken their petition into consideration, and should recommend it and send it to his majesty with my lord duke, who would truly declare every thing. The two noblemen coming back to the rest and reporting this answer, the rest desired them to return to the council, and entreat they might be advertised of the return of his majesty's answer, and that no novation should be pressed any-where until that time. But the council had risen before they could return."

The Earl of Rothes further mentions, that he visited the duke next morning at his lodgings, immediately before his departure for court, with the view of making a personal impression on his grace's mind. In the conclusion of their interview, with the talent for humour which characterised this eminent popular leader, he quoted an anecdote of a man who had forgiven another all past injuries, and only desired fair play for the future. "All we want," said he, "is that the book may be abolished, and that we may have fair play from the king in times coming."

During the month, which seems to have then been the time necessary for an interchange of letters between the king and his vice-regal government at Edinburgh, the clergy, in all their several parishes and congregations, held fasts, and instituted solemn prayers, that the king might be disposed by divine grace to give a favourable answer to their Supplication.⁴ It was, moreover, resolved, that, as only the central and western parts of the country had as yet appeared in any strength, four influential clergymen should be sent to as many extremities of the kingdom, to propagate the alarm,

and procure the concurrence of all that could be prevailed upon to join them.

Previous to the 17th of October, when the king's answer was expected, there was accordingly a still greater concourse than on the 20th of September; not only more noblemen being present, but few shires south of the Grampians failing to send gentlemen, burghers, ministers, and commoners, to await the momentous crisis. What was the rage of this immense and unanimous multitude, when, instead of a soothing answer, or a discharge of their grievances, they heard, at the Market-cross of Edinburgh, a royal proclamation ordaining the Service-Book to be enforced, the council and Court of Session to be removed to Linlithgow, and the whole supplicants to depart out of Edinburgh, within twenty-four hours, under pain of being declared rebels! It would be difficult to conceive the anguish and mortification with which the announcement of this unhappy measure was heard. To the general multitude it argued a total insensibility on the part of the king to their grievances, and a resolution to force them, by the most arbitrary and unjustifiable means, to sin their souls, as they said, for the mere gratification of his will. Among all whom it offended, it offended none so grievously as the citizens of Edinburgh, who, in addition to reasons of conscience, had now considerations of interest involved in the plea. They had recently been disgusted by the king's appointing a provost to them of his own stamp; and they were now shocked at the prospect of losing their ordinary means of subsistence by the removal of those ministerial and judicial personages who constituted the wealthy class of their present population, and who

occasioned the only influx of money of which their town could boast.

Accordingly, there next day fell out another tumult on the streets. "The women," says Bishop Guthry, "assembled in the morning, to the number of three hundred, at Forrester's Wynd head," apparently awaiting an object on which to wreak their vengeance. As ill luck would have it, the first obnoxious person they saw was Sydserf, Bishop of Galloway, a prelate who had been exceedingly active in the late innovations, and who was reported, as an incontestable mark of Catholicism, to wear a gold crucifix under his clothes, and to perform his private devotions every day before a cabinet which contained another. He was on the present occasion quietly walking along the street, with Francis Stuart, son of the turbulent Earl of Bothwell; being on his way to the council-house, where he was appointed to examine some witnesses in regard to a law case which the said Stuart had there depending. As the unhappy churchman passed Forrester's Wynd head, which was close adjacent to the council-house, the whole band rushed violently upon him, tore his clothes, and endeavoured, as a writer of the time delicately expresses it, to "luik him" for the supposed crucifix. He would probably have been torn in pieces, says Guthry, if Stuart, with the help of two pretty men who attended him, had not rescued him from their barbarous hands, and hurled him into the council-house, holding back the ladies until those that were within shut the door. Disappointed in their attempt upon the bishop, and now fairly set to work, the mob next attacked the magistrates in their place of meeting, threatening to burn the house about their ears unless they imme-

hastily nominated two commissioners to join with the other burghs in resisting the innovations. The general cry of this tumultuous body was, "God defend all who will defend God's cause, and confound the Service-Book and all its adherents!" The council-house being at the same time besieged, both the state officers of the kingdom and the magistrates of the city might be considered in great personal danger. When two o'clock came, and the crowd still seemed to relent nothing in their terrible menaces, the members of the council, including the Treasurer Traquair, the Earl of Wigton, the Bishops of Edinburgh and Galloway, and Justice General Elphinstoun, began to feel the pangs of hunger, in addition to their other distresses,—the ordinary hour of dinner being then at mid-day. In this dilemma, they smuggled out a message by Sir James Murray of Ravelrig to a house where the supplicating nobility had convened, intreating them for God's sake to disperse the people and procure their release.⁵ The noblemen sent over Lord Loudoun, who, using his influence with the people, was soon enabled to conduct the councillors out to the main street, where the rest of the assembled grandees speedily joined the convoy, and conducted them home to their various lodgings.⁶

It was now determined by the assembled supplicants, before obeying the proclamation, to join in a still more vehement and earnest application to his majesty, and then to disperse till such time as an answer might be expected. Lord Loudoun accordingly drew up a Letter, and Mr David Dick a Supplication, in which they accused the bishops as the poisoner of his majesty's mind, and intreated that he would be graciously pleased to take other

counsel regarding his affairs in Scotland, which were now, by the imprudence and tyranny of these men, fast going into confusion. This Supplication was subscribed, before night, by five hundred names of the best men in Scotland ; and measures were immediately taken for dispatching it. As there was no time to lose, they also met on the evening of this busy day,⁷ and entered into some resolutions of mutual adherence and defence.

When the 15th of November arrived, a still greater multitude of people than on either of the two former occasions, flocked to the capital, including representatives from nearly every burgh in the kingdom, except Aberdeen, which, on account of the counteraction of the Marquis of Huntly, leader of the Popish party in the kingdom, could not be prevailed upon to concur. The party, at this diet, likewise gained a prodigious accession in the young, influential, and highly gifted Earl of Montrose, who, more it would appear from personal disgust at the king than disinclination to his measures, now thought proper to join in the opposition. When the bishops understood that this distinguished nobleman had gone over to the enemy, they are said to have felt a more serious pang of alarm than they had experienced on any former occasion.⁸

The council, which had in vain attempted to find accommodation at Linlithgow, and even at Stirling, being now seated at the palace of Dalkeith, about six miles from town, the noblemen, judging that it would be inconvenient for the whole multitude to attend, recommended that commissioners should be chosen by the people, who should join with them in their deliberations. This was inadvertently sanctioned by the council, for the sake of getting the great body of suppli-

cants to disperse ; and thus arose the famous committees called the TABLES, which afterwards played so prominent a part in the public affairs. The tables were four, one of noblemen, another of gentry, a third of burghs, and a fourth of ministers. Each table was composed of four individuals ; and there was a still further condensation of the spirit of the country in a chief table, which was formed by one person from each of the rest. The Lords Rothes, Loudoun, Montrose, and Lindsay, formed the table of nobility, and may safely be conjectured to have had the principal management of the affairs of the whole.

Early in December, a message was received from court, intimating that the king declined answering the petitions of his Scottish subjects, from resentment at their late outrages, but also declaring that he meditated no innovation upon the national religion as professed at present. It was easily seen that he meant to deceive by the latter phrase ; but the supplicants affected, with equal address, to take it in its ostensible meaning, for the purpose of criminating the bishops. These detested personages, now afraid of being cast out by violence, thought proper to retire altogether from the privy council, before which the tables were then left to prosecute their petitions with some degree of success, as the most influential secular members, such as Traquair, Sir Thomas Hope, king's advocate, Sir John Carmichael, treasurer-depute, and Sir John Hamilton, justice-clerk, were decidedly favourable to their views. Finally, upon the 21st of December, it was resolved, with the approbation of the king, that Traquair should go up to court, with a full and faith-

ful report of the late proceedings which had agitated Scotland in so extraordinary a manner.

Before the Earl of Traquair arrived at London, Spottiswood, the President of the Court of Session, and son of the archbishop, was also there, in behalf of the bishops, and unfortunately had prevailed upon the king to adhere to his former line of policy. In the competition between this man and the treasurer for credit with Charles, the former had a decided advantage; for Traquair was already suspected of strong favour for the supplicants, while Spottiswood was looked upon as an infallible friend to the late measures. The result, therefore, was, that Traquair was returned to Scotland, with a proclamation announcing his majesty's approbation of the Service-Book; declaring that the petitions were derogatory to the royal authority; and prohibiting all further convocation of the lieges, under the penalties of treason!

This last and most violent measure will astonish the reader who reflects upon the state of Scotland at the period. But in this, as in a thousand things which seem blamable in private individuals, care should be taken to ascertain the motives which instigated the act. The truth is, that Charles, now committed in an attempt to fortify the established church against the hordes of dissenters, dared not retract a step without endangering the religion of the majority; that is, of his English kingdom. And thus, it would really appear, that, in his seemingly unjustifiable measures in regard to Scotland, the unfortunate monarch only chose the least of two evils which lay before him. This is acknowledged and regretted, with great generosity of spirit, by one of the most energetic of the supplicants themselves, in a letter

written at the express period.⁹ Unfortunately, in a case like this, it was impossible for the most rational and candid enemies to be reconciled. But both were led on, by a sort of necessity of their nature, to seek the destruction, or at least the total humiliation, of each other.

CHAPTER V.

SUBSCRIPTION OF THE COVENANT.

———One word more, one word.
This tiger-footed rage, when it shall find
The harm of unscanned swiftness, will, too late,
Tie leaden pounds to his heels.

Coriolanus.

TRAQUAIR had been instructed by the king to preserve the proclamation a profound secret till it should be published, so as to prevent a tumultuous assemblage of the people on that occasion. On his return, therefore, to his residence at Dalkeith palace, (February 14, 1638,) when the Tables sent his neighbour, Lord Cranstoun, to sound him as to the king's intentions, he assured them, with many solemn asseverations, that he had got no directions from his majesty. Their vigilance, however, or address, enabled them, through friends at court, to procure not only a hint of the real state of the case, but even a complete duplicate of his instructions. They were thus, most unexpectedly, prepared to meet the proclamation with a protest, a ceremony which was looked upon by them as a sufficient annulment of the royal will.

The circumstances under which this terrible edict was issued were very remarkable, and, as such, have

been most minutely related by the chroniclers of the period. Traquair, after maintaining a grave face for a week, at length, about two o'clock in the morning of Monday the 19th of February, sent for his horses from the inn at Edinburgh, where they were disposed, and rode off to Stirling, where the council and Session then sat, expecting to get the business managed there without opposition from the dreaded Tables, all of whom he supposed to be at this time sound asleep in their lodgings throughout the capital. By a singular chance, the Lord Lindsay, one of the very principal men, sleeping that night at the inn where the treasurer's horses lay, was apprised by his servant, a drinking companion of the treasurer's messenger, of the purpose which his lordship had in view by being thus early astir. He, of course, lost no time in awakening the rest of his party, who had wonderfully increased in numbers during the week which had elapsed since the treasurer's return from court. Within an hour, thousands of anxious faces were assembled on the street; and it was instantly determined that the Lords Home and Lindsay should take post after the treasurer, endeavour to overtake him, and, if possible, make their protest at the moment he uttered the proclamation. These two noblemen immediately set out, and such was their speed, compared with that of the treasurer, that they passed him at the Torwood, some miles from Stirling, where they arrived an hour before him. At ten in the forenoon, the ceremony was performed upon the Market-cross of the burgh; and the two noblemen took instruments in the hands of a notary, protesting against the proclamation in the most firm and eloquent terms, though without any expression that could be construed into disrespect for the king.

The town of Stirling was that night filled with armed men; for the whole of the supplicants had followed at leisure during the day, and, posts being dispatched through the country, all who bore affection to the cause within forty miles had rendezvoused here, to maintain them in their protest. It was even agitated, on this dreadful night, by the most violent of the party, that they should seize the Archbishop Spottiswood where he lay, and by hanging him, as his predecessor Hamilton had been for a similar reason in the late reign, and in this very town, make him a terrible example to the party which he represented. Next day, after having commissioned two gentlemen to renew their protest at the first meeting of the council, the whole band left Stirling for Edinburgh, numbering two thousand persons, and rather resembling an army than a procession of supplicants.

The royal proclamation being renewed, on the 22d, at the Market-cross of Edinburgh, sixteen noblemen of the party mounted a temporary scaffold, prepared for the purpose, close to that edifice, in order to resist it in due fashion with their protest. It is commemorated by a cavalier historian, that, on this occasion, although the proclamation was read by the king's heralds, in all their pomp, and with the royal arms on their backs, the protesters openly scoffed at it, and rendered it often inaudible by their railings. When it was done, the heralds and other royal officers were obliged, by the density of the surrounding crowd, to stay on the platform round the Cross, till they had heard the protestation, which was read out by Mr Archibald Johnston. During this solemn and interesting ceremony, the facetious Rothes found an opportunity to throw out one of his character-

istic jests. Observing that his compatriot, Montrose, had, in his extraordinary zeal, mounted on a puncheon which stood upon the scaffold; and his mind being struck with the remembrance that this was the ordinary place of execution, he said, "James, you will never be at rest till you be lifted up there above the rest in a rope." "This," says the superstitious historian,¹ "was afterwards accomplished in earnest, in that same place; and some even say that the same supporters of the scaffold were made use of at Montrose's execution." Measures were in the meantime taken to counteract the royal edict in every other burgh throughout the kingdom where it might be offered; and the most vigorous exertions were made, in defiance of the chief command of the proclamation, to collect, in one intense focus, at Edinburgh, all the friends of the cause who could possibly leave their own homes. In the course of a few days, the capital was thronged with a much greater, and, it may be added, more determined multitude, than had ever before flocked to it; and so favourable did every circumstance appear to them, that the leaders now resolved upon adopting a positive, as they had hitherto practised only a negative, mode of opposition.

It was at this juncture that the Tables projected the institution of the NATIONAL COVENANT. The origin of this celebrated bond of association may be traced to the early ages of the reformation, when the advocates of the new doctrines had found it necessary to bind themselves by solemn compact in opposition to a government which favoured the ancient faith. But it first assumed the shape and name of a Covenant in the minority of King James, when it was set on foot, and subscribed

both by king and subjects, for the protection of the Reformed Church against the plots of the Catholics. It was afterwards renewed in 1588, on the alarm of the grand Spanish invasion. After a dormancy of fifty years, during part of which Episcopacy had found a nominal triumph, it was now proposed to be revived, with additions suitable to the exigencies of the time, as an obvious and easy mode of uniting the nation at large in defence of their tottering religion.

The Covenant, as subscribed in the years 1581 and 1588, consisted simply in an abjuration of the doctrines, ceremonies, and observances attributed to the church of Rome. It was drawn up by a distinguished preacher of the name of John Craig. Though so long in abeyance, and although Episcopacy had found a nominal triumph in the interval, it was still remembered with veneration as a sort of solemn contract with the Deity, and as a bulwark of the national faith against secular power. There were even some who attributed all the miseries of the last thirty years to divine indignation at the neglect with which the Covenant had, during that period, been treated. When the proposal, therefore, was now made to resuscitate and improve it, the public feeling was one of almost unalloyed satisfaction; and so little objection was made to it, that, within eight days from the return of the supplicants from Stirling, it was proposed, prepared, exhibited, signed, and sworn to, by almost all classes within the city of Edinburgh.

The honour of organizing this most effective plan for concentrating the national strength, lies with Mr Archibald Johnston, advocate, afterwards celebrated in history by the judicial title of Lord Warriston; with Alexander Henderson, the first

man who had the courage to rebel against the Episcopal authorities; and with Sir Thomas Hope, king's advocate, who, though a state-officer, had made no scruple all along to favour the malcontents with his friendship and counsel. Johnston had the chief hand in its composition, using for that purpose the history of the civil wars of France, where there were to be found sufficient models for such a document.² It was not fully prepared till Tuesday the 27th of February; but the well-affected ministers of Edinburgh had on the previous Sunday announced in their pulpits the intention of producing it, and at the same time used arguments to incline the people favourably to its reception. On Tuesday, immediately after it had been fully prepared, it was propounded by the Tables to an assembly of between two and three hundred clergymen, besides others, which had met at the Tailor's Hall. Some few objected to certain points in it; but, being taken aside into a summer-house in the garden attached to the place of meeting, and there lectured on the necessity of mutual concession for the sake of the general cause, they were soon conciliated. It was then agreed in full conclave, that, next day at two o'clock, the Covenant should be presented to the public in the Greyfriars' church.

The document, as modified for the occasion, contained, besides the original renunciation of Popery, or Confession of Faith, already mentioned, an enumeration of statutes, confirming the discipline and doctrines of the Presbyterian Church, and a Bond of Union, as it was called, whereby all the subscribers were unanimously and vigorously to resist any innovations upon their professed religion. The whole was written in a rational

and distinct style, wonderful for the age ; and, instead of any disrespect being expressed for the king, the great general object was stated to be the support of that royal personage in the maintenance of religion, law, and liberty. It was superscribed with the emphatic words, in large letters, " For God and the King."

When the appointed hour arrived next day, all the chief malcontents in town were found to have assembled, as directed, in the Greyfriars' church ; where Rothes and Loudon, the leading members of the Tables, soon after arrived, along with Archibald Johnston, and a copy of the Covenant. This solemn meeting was constituted with a prayer by Mr Henderson ; and Lord Loudon, who was the best orator of the party, then opened up the business in hand, with one of his most eloquent and impressive speeches. He informed the assembled multitude, that the nobility, gentry, and other commissioners, into whose hands the people of Scotland had seen fit to commit their interests on the present occasion, had agreed upon the form to be presently read to them, as absolutely necessary for both their temporal and spiritual welfare, and as the only means of saving the country from the ruin with which it was threatened. He also stated, that he and his brethren called God to witness, that, whatever might be thought of their motives by the agents of tyranny and by scoffers, they intended nothing to the dishonour of God, or to the diminution of the king's honour, but wished they might perish who did so. Mr Johnston then read the document, which was written on a sheet of parchment upwards of an ell square. At the conclusion, the Earl of Rothes desired, that such as had any doubts, if they were of the south or

west country, might retire to the west end of the church, where Loudon and Mr David Dick would attend to deal with them ; if of the L'othians, or from beyond the Forth, that they would go to the east end of the church, where he and Mr Henderson would wait upon them for the same purpose. Few took advantage of this proposal, and those few soon had their scruples satisfied. The Earl of Sutherland, the first earl present,³ and a nobleman venerable for his excellent domestic character, then put his name to the bond, as the most brilliant and powerful example which could be set before the rest.⁴ After him, it was subscribed by Sir Andrew Murray, minister of Ebby in Fife,⁵ and then by the other noblemen and commons present, every one striving who should first have the honour of putting his name to so glorious a bond. When it had taken the round of the whole church, it was handed out to the immense multitude which had collected in the churchyard ; and there being received with no less rapture than in the church, it was laid upon one of the flat monuments so thickly scattered around, and subscribed by all who could get near it. It is said by one of the contemporary chroniclers so often quoted, to have been a most impressive sight, when the Covenant was read to this vast crowd, to see thousands of faces and hands at once held up to heaven in token of assent, while devout aspirations burst from every lip, and tears of holy joy distilled from every eye.

Throughout the city next day, (March 1,) the bond was subscribed with the same enthusiasm by all classes of the community ; by the citizens and their wives, by servant-women, and even by children. For those who could not sign their own

names, a notary stood by as a ready substitute. Some, in addition to their names, wrote the emphatic words, "till death;" and there were a few who, more enthusiastic than all others, pierced their skin, and signed with their blood. In its progress through the city, it was attended everywhere with a weeping, praying, and enraptured multitude; some weeping in repentance for the neglect which it had experienced during the last corrupted age; others praying for the divine countenance upon their motives; and all enraptured with the prospect of thus, by a solemn treaty with the Deity, ensuring peace on earth and eternal bliss in heaven.

By this decisive measure, the power of the Tables, or, in other words, of the great body of insurgents in Scotland, was firmly and permanently established. When Spottiswood, the head of the royal party, arrived in Edinburgh from Stirling, and was told of what had been done during the past week, he exclaimed, in despair, "Now, all that we have been attempting to build up during the last thirty years is at once thrown down!"⁶ From this period, indeed, it is observable, that the state-officers of Scotland either ceased to act altogether, or at least not for the king; and the whole political management of the country was at once thrown into the hands of the covenanting committee. The Episcopal party, which had as yet only existed by royal authority, and never got a single sincere adherent among the people, now retired completely out of view; and Charles was henceforth to treat the nation as one estranged from his rule, or which had at least determined not to submit to him, except upon secure conditions.

Immediately after the first subscription of the

Covenant at Edinburgh, the new powers began to take advantage of their situation. Hitherto they had acted as suppliants before the king, through his council; they now began to issue edicts of their own, with all the confidence of a sovereign authority. Their first grand act was to raise a voluntary subscription throughout the country, of one dollar upon every thousand merks of rent, to defray the public expenses; thirty-four noblemen at Edinburgh, in the first place, subscribing to the amount of six hundred and seventy dollars, as an example to the rest; and men being appointed to travel through the country to collect contributions from the well-affected. It was next thought proper to dispatch commissioners to deal with and mollify the Marquis of Huntly, whose wrath and power were alike formidable to them, and also to the various universities, which, on account of the prelates connected with them, had not as yet shown much alacrity in favouring their views. They also ordained, that a copy of the Covenant should be dispatched to every shire, stewartry, and bailiery within the kingdom, to be subscribed by their chief men; as also to every parish, to be signed by the common people.⁷

These copies were all written out by notaries of their own party; and such was the quantity of parchment, or sheepskin, thus consumed, that, in a pasquil of the day, the Covenant was conceitedly termed, "the constellation on the back of Aries."⁸ For the satisfaction of the country people, all the copies, before being sent off, were honoured with the signatures of the chief noblemen and ministers connected with the party. Not content with taking these means for procuring adherents, some of the noblemen and gentlemen, where-

ever they want, had each a copy in his pocket or portmanteau, to which he solicited the subscriptions of all and sundry whom he met.⁹ They did not even scruple to use some coercive measures, in order to procure subscriptions. Those who took the charge of the parochial copies were desired, for instance, to transmit to head-quarters, lists as well of those who *did not* as of those who *did* subscribe, evidently for the purpose of intimidating the recusant. It happened also, that as any man who pleased got a charge in this business, some were so injudicious as openly to threaten, and even to beat, those who could not otherwise be prevailed upon, especially at the towns of St Andrews, Glasgow, and Lanark.¹⁰ At first a number of the country clergymen were found to express scruples about some points, which they conceived to jar with their previous obligations to Episcopacy; but the most of these soon saw it prudent to comply, in order to escape the persecution with which they were threatened by their parishioners, or by the chief Covenanters at Edinburgh. The clergymen who advocated it without scruple, became immediately popular to a degree perfectly unexampled. Whenever it was understood that a minister of this stamp was to preach in favour of the Covenant, his church was crowded two days beforehand, with persons generally of the "devouter sex," as the cavalier Straloch more wittily than reverently terms them, or at least with servant girls, who were to keep seats till their mistresses arrived; somewhat after the fashion of a modern theatre at the advent of a distinguished actor.

The more successful they were in procuring subscriptions, the more imperious they became in

exacting others from the recusant; so that, at length, with the solitary exception of Aberdeenshire, there was not perhaps a corner of Scotland where a triumphant majority of the population had not subscribed. Even in the Highlands, and in Caithness, where the people had hitherto been very much at their ease on the score of religion, the zeal of Lords Sutherland, Lovat, Reay, and others, was splendidly successful; although it is to be presumed, that nowhere else was the assistance of the substitute notaries so indispensably required. The Covenant, indeed, may be described as at this period a truly national work—a matter which involved almost all interests in the kingdom.

CHAPTER VI.

HAMILTON'S COMMISSION.

Let them pull all about mine cars ; present me
Death on the wheel, or at wild horses' heels ;
Or pile ten hills on the Tarpeian rock,
That the precipitation might down stretch
Below the beam of sight, yet will I still
Be thus to them.

Cortolanus.

IF King Charles, after this critical juncture, remained obstinate in error, it was not for want of sufficient advice from both his friends and his enemies in Scotland. On the contrary, he had such ample warning of his danger from his state-officers, and was at the same time offered such liberal terms of reconciliation by the Covenanters, that his refusal to "change his hand, and check his pride," must be attributed to causes resting only with himself.¹ His privy council met at Stirling during the first week of March, while the thunders of the Covenant were as yet echoing away into the mountainous wilds of Scotland ; and there, with the terrific sound still pealing in their ears, they framed a report of what had taken place, which they agreed upon immediately dispatching to the king, together with a warm, and it may almost be said an impassioned call upon him, to withdraw the religious innovations, which they justly stated to be the true and only cause of the present disturbances. The Covenanters, soon

after, dispatched a paper, stipulating to become satisfied and obedient subjects, if the king would restore their church to the condition in which it had been before the imposition of Episcopacy—though without expressly demanding the demission of bishops.

Charles, however, had gone too far to retract. To urge him on, there were pride, principle, and prejudice—the counsels of a Catholic consort and an overbearing hierarchy—and the delusive assurance of being able to suppress the Covenanters in the long run by force of arms. To prevent his retreat, there were the shame of disappointed authorship²—the horror of being brow-beat by subjects whom he had hitherto esteemed born only to obey him—and the fear of giving encouragement to the turbulence of the English Puritans. To yield to the demands of these bonded rebels, he said, would leave him no more power than the Duke of Venice. He therefore resolved to go on at whatever hazard. By doing so, he confessed himself aware that he might for the time occasion much mischief to his people; but by retreating, his own honour would have been for ever lost.³

Three months, during which the Covenanters got time to become aware of and consolidate their power, elapsed, before Charles took any definite measures for appeasing them. His first act, after receiving the representations of his council, was to call up three members of it—Traquair, Roxburgh, and Lord Lorn⁴—that he might receive an oral and minute account of the state of the country, and join their counsel to that of his English ministers in determining upon his future measures. It is needless to state, that these three noblemen gave him a rational and just representa-

tion of the case, and advocated the same conciliatory policy which they and their brethren had already urged in their late dispatches. But Charles had a privy council within himself, composed of his own wilful wishes, which he was more inclined to trust. He had, besides, the inflexible desires of Laud and the Scottish bishops, to countenance and inflame the dictates of this reckless cabinet. The result, as might have been easily foreseen, was a resolution to yield nothing to the demands of his Scottish subjects.

From an attentive perusal of the state papers of this period, it appears that Charles proposed to himself just two courses in regard to the Covenanters; first, to temporize with them, in the hope of breaking up their league by delay, or by other insidious means; next, in the event of that plan not succeeding, to overwhelm them by his own power at the head of an army. For the execution of the first project, he resolved upon dispatching a commissioner, to treat with them; selecting for this purpose, James, Marquis of Hamilton, his kinsman and devoted friend; a youthful nobleman, who, though generally resident at court, was very popular in his native country, which he, on the other hand, loved with all the patriotic fervour of a Scotsman. On this difficult and dangerous office being proposed to him, Hamilton endeavoured to elude it, foreseeing that it could scarcely fail to embroil him either with the king or the country; but Charles, who could pitch upon no other eligible person, prevailed upon him to accept it by the influence of personal friendship. He was intrusted with a royal declaration, and a paper of instructions, the gist of which was, that if the Covenanters would abjure their odious bond, the

king would speedily take such measures with the church as should leave them no cause of complaint; but that, if they positively refused to do so, he (the commissioner) should denounce them as rebels, and proceed to disperse and suppress them, if he should be able, by force.

Hamilton, commencing his journey about the end of May, wrote letters to all his friends and adherents—in particular, to his vassals in Clydesdale, commanding them to meet him on the 5th of June, at Haddington, in order to attend him on his approach to the capital. The Covenanters, however, had determined that he should be attended by as few of his friends as possible, lest he should employ his influence over them to the prejudice of their cause; and the marquis was surprised to find, that even his tenants failed to keep appointment with him. On his approach to Haddington, he was only met by two lords and three barons, a committee dispatched by the insurgent government, to excuse the appearance of the rest, and of his vassals; and with this small state, so different from what would have attended him in other circumstances, he made his approach to the royal palace of Dalkeith.

An incident had just at this period occurred, which tended to increase, in no small degree, the difficulties of the Marquis of Hamilton's situation. The principal Covenanters having, during the whole of this spring, been busy in providing their houses with warlike stores,⁵ it was represented to the king by Traquair, that he should also furnish his houses or fortresses in the same manner; and that nobleman had accordingly been ordered to freight a Leith vessel with a quantity of weapons and munition for Edinburgh castle, which had

long been comparatively unprovided in that respect. On this vessel's arrival in Leith Roads, immediately before the Marquis of Hamilton came to Scotland, the Covenanters instantly raised a dreadful alarm, professing to understand this as a sort of declaration of war on the part of the king. They prepared to seize the contents of the vessel ; but the Earl of Traquair contrived, during the night, to have the whole brought ashore at the harbour of Fisherrow, and from thence transported in carts to Dalkeith. This instantly gave a darker complexion to the popular alarm. It was asserted, that the commissioner designed to inveigle the chief Covenanters into the house, and there blow them up with the gunpowder. To give countenance to their suspicion, it was represented that a drawbridge had lately been added to the former fortifications of the house, as if for the more effectually preventing their escape. Some proposed to march instantly to Dalkeith, and seize the dangerous articles by force ; but the administrators of affairs determined only, in the meantime, to plant a strong guard around Edinburgh castle, to prevent the stores from being transported thither. So much did this affair add to the distrust with which the Covenanters regarded Hamilton, that for some days the parties could not be brought together, to proceed to business. Hamilton wished the Covenanters to come to Dalkeith ; but they alleged that there was there no accommodation for either themselves or their horses ; either, in reality, being afraid of the gunpowder, or else suspicious that he wanted to distract their force, so well concentrated at Edinburgh. They asked him, on the other hand, to come to Holyroodhouse ; but he objected, that it

was impossible for him, as the representative of majesty, to come to a city where the king's fortress was environed by a body of insurgent guards. It was only by a sort of mutual concession that this delicate matter was adjusted. The Covenanters permitted the magistrates of Edinburgh to invite the commissioner, and to promise that the guards, which were composed of their trained bands, should be dismissed. He, on the other hand, agreed to overlook the circumstance that they still kept up a small private watch of eight citizens, who walked perpetually, with only their swords by their sides, along St Cuthbert's road, behind the castle.⁶

When it was at length determined that the commissioner should take up his residence at Edinburgh, the Covenanters resolved to impress him on entering the town with as magnificent an idea as possible of their multitudes and strength. "It was resolved," says Rothes, in his Relation, "that all the noblemen should meet at 12 hours next day, (the 9th of June,) at Dame Galloway's house, and that they, with all others that had horses, should loup on (mount) at the foot of the Canon-gate, and attend the commissioner as he came to the Long Sands. They who wanted horses were to stand outmost"—that is, most out of sight—"the gentry next, the burrows after them, and the burgh of Edinburgh nearest to their own town." The very road selected for the approach of the commissioner was calculated for display. Instead of bringing him by the direct road from Dalkeith, they conducted him by the circuitous route of Musselburgh, in order that, between that town and Edinburgh, they might take advantage of the broad expanse of sandy beach, along which the

road lay, to display their numbers. It was also ordained, that he should make a still further circuit by touching at Leith, thus rendering his journey one of twelve, instead of about six miles.

After passing through the prodigious array of noblemen and other chief Covenanters, with their followers, who lined the beach for several miles, a still more remarkable sight was reserved for the astonished marquis, upon an eminence at the east end of Leith Links. This consisted in a body of no fewer than seven hundred clergymen, who, in full canonicals, had there assembled as part of the impressive show. It may puzzle the reader to conceive, how, out of the thousand parishes of Scotland, seven hundred clergymen could at once be spared from duty ; but an old historian solves the difficulty, by mentioning that a considerable number of them were puritan clergymen, who had recently been forced to take refuge in this country, from persecution in the north of Ireland. They had selected one of their number, Mr William Livingston, a man of peculiarly awful countenance, to deliver a speech in their name to the commissioner ; but he refused to hear it, from a delicate fear that it would contain something derogatory to the royal dignity which he bore. He bowed repeatedly and gracefully in return to their obeisances, and addressed them, after a fashion used to the ancient ecclesiastics, in the words which Christ applied to his disciples on the mount, (Matth. v. 13,) "*Vos estis sal terræ*"—Ye are the salt of the earth.⁷

It was calculated that sixty thousand persons were this day assembled to meet the commissioner, being the greatest number that had ever been known to assemble in one body in Scotland.⁸ Ha-

milton was much affected by the sight, and made the pathetic remark, that he only wished King Charles himself had been there, to see what he saw.⁹ "He was moved," says Baillie, "to pity, and even to tears."

And, to say the truth, it must have been a most impressive and affecting scene: sixty thousand persons, comprising the most respectable in the nation, and, in fact, its express representatives, all assembled for one common, dear, and important object—an object not allied to the gross interests of worldly life, or even to the passions which we are accustomed to think the most ennobling, but involving the eternal happiness of the present and all the succeeding generations of a whole people, and as much purer and more refined than the ordinary motives of political action, as is the blue and beaming sky itself, compared to the mud which we tread beneath our feet. There are some minds so incapable of veneration, or so wayward in the pursuit of ludicrous images, that they can see nothing in this great national paroxysm, superior to the reluctance of an humble individual to swallow plum-pudding.¹⁰ But if such persons would study attentively the publications and other documents of the time, where may be seen displayed the sincere and anxious concern with which this pious people beheld the approach of the king's commissioner, and the keen and tremulous hope which they entertained, that he would be found empowered to relieve them;¹¹ if they could see the sickening anguish with which they gradually learned that Charles had resolved upon driving them to still greater extremities, and the reluctance with which they ultimately found themselves obliged to take sterner measures; their hearts

would be little to be envied, if they did not at once change that disposition to ridicule, for a strain of the tenderest sympathy and respect.

That this purity of motive really did exist in the Covenanters, and that they were not, as has been so often alleged, urged by mere turbulence of disposition, will, in the mind of him who does not mistrust all good for evil, be sufficiently attested by the solemn eloquence of the speech which the clergy intended to have delivered to the commissioner as he passed, and which they eventually pronounced to him next day at Holyroodhouse. "Please your grace," so commenced this most interesting oration, "we, the servants of the Son of God, and preachers of the peace which passeth understanding, being sensible of that fearful wrath of God which pursueth this our land for our sins, wherethrough this kirk is rent by schism, the worship of God defiled by superstition, and the whole people in a fire, which is ready to consume all, if it be not quenched; we, having humbled ourselves to our God as we dow, (can,) renewed our covenant with his majesty, and made supplication to our sovereign, do give your grace hearty welcome, as his majesty's commissioner and the messenger of the God of heaven, by whose blessing your grace may be a happy instrument for doing one of the best works that can be done in this earth for the honour of God, contentment of the king, tranquillity of our kingdom, and joy of all the reformed kirks in the world; as having power in your grace's hands to quench this fire of division, and put away the cause of this combustion, purge the house of God, minister justice, and give satisfaction to grieved souls in their great supplications; whereby your grace shall prove a worthy

patriot, faithful counsellor, good Christian, and a compassionate member of your mother kirk, now mourning under manifold miseries, and shall reap the fruit of a sweet remembrance in after ages, and a wonderful peace and strong consolation when it comes to the breaking of the eye-strings, and the resignation of the last gasp ; for who liveth and shall not see death ? when all the pleasures and honours of the world shall stand in no stead ; and this we and our people expect at your grace's hands, and humbly and heartily crave it in his name, who shall judge the quick and the dead." ¹² This speech was pronounced by the clergy, says Gordon of Straloch, "not without tears."

Since such was the anxious desire of the people of Scotland to obtain from the king a remission of their grievances, and such their conviction of the necessity of that remission, it may be conceived with what pain and indignation they learned that Hamilton had rather come to demand than to grant concessions. He put his proposals to them in two different ways ; first, what they should expect from him, for the accommodation of their grievances—next, what they would expect in return for their renouncing the Covenant, and resuming their obedience to the king. They answered, that, as for renouncing the Covenant, they would sooner renounce their baptism ; and in regard to their allegiance, it was still the king's. They only required that the Liturgy, Book of Canons, and Court of High Commission, should be withdrawn, as inconsistent with the laws and spirit of the country, and that a free General Assembly, and then a Parliament, should be called, to settle all disputes about religion. Hamilton endeavoured, by the employment of his natural courteousness of man-

ner, and by many insidious means, to drive them from these positions ; but, after a fortnight, they were found to be as firm in their purpose as ever. When he found all gentle methods ineffectual, he resolved to try the power of threats. On the 26th of June, he called their leader, the Earl of Rothes, aside into his bedchamber at Holyroodhouse, and, closing the door, said in a sort of jest, and with allusion to the report of the Dalkeith Gunpowder Plot, he wished that he had the best ten of the party as much at his own disposal as he had the earl at that moment. Then, sitting down upon a chair, and desiring Rothes to seat himself on a stool, he proceeded to lecture him upon the obstinacy of the Covenanters. He had expected, he said, before he left London, that they would have abandoned their bond, on obtaining the king's promise, that all the objects for which they had entered into it would be granted to them. All his instructions had accordingly been drawn with reference to this preliminary renunciation of the Covenant. If they had done so, he could have allowed them a free Assembly and Parliament, before which, if the bishops should have been found guilty of the misdemeanours attributed to them, they should have one and all "wagged in a wuddie," (dangled on a gallows.) The Covenanters, he said, were evidently holding out, under the idea that the people of England sympathized with their grievances, and would never carry arms against them ; but perhaps they might find themselves mistaken. So long as they seemed to have cause to complain, the English would look upon them with compassion ; but the moment they appeared to press the king beyond discretion, the tide of pity would turn in the royal fa-

your, and make against them. They would then be the most miserable people in the whole world—a lamentable example of unsuccessful rebellion.¹³

Whatever Hamilton said to the Covenanters, he, in reality, was convinced of the impossibility of subduing them, except by granting their demands. Such is the tenor of all his private letters to the king, whom he even takes the liberty of reminding, that the English would scarcely be brought to fight against the Scottish malcontents.¹⁴ When he found them insensible alike to promises and to threats, he still hesitated to obey the king's command, by denouncing them as rebels. He saw, that that would only precipitate a civil war; and he resolved rather to delay till he should go back to London for fresh instructions, though at the risk of incurring the royal displeasure. On his announcing this intention to the Tables, they begged him to take charge of a petition from them to the king, which he readily consented to do.

Before returning to London, he thought it necessary to publish the declaration, in which the king promised to relieve the grievances complained of, on condition of their renouncing the Covenant. They informed him that they should be obliged to protest against it; and, with the greatest deliberation, they ordered a scaffold to be erected close to the Market-cross of Edinburgh, on which their notaries should stand to perform that ceremony. In the expectation of this affair taking place, many who had previously left Edinburgh returned to it again; and when the day arrived (July 4), several thousand gentlemen surrounded the cross, to protect their representatives—their swords unslung in their hands, and bearing pistols openly in their belts;¹⁵ while an innumerable mob, proba-

bly armed in a no less formidable manner, added to the terrible impressiveness of the scene. The commissioner, when he saw the determined aspect of the crowd, caused horses to be prepared, as if for the purpose of riding off to make his proclamation in some neighbouring burgh; but the vigilant Covenanters had their horses ready as soon as he, and seemed resolved to accompany him whithersoever he should go. He then saw fit to abandon his intention for the time, and actually commenced his journey to London, as if hopeless of getting the proclamation made without a protest. Next day, however, he returned suddenly from Seton, where he had lodged for the night, expecting to find the Covenanters dispersed, and making up to the Cross, proceeded to the performance of the ceremony. To his great mortification, even this disgraceful *ruse* was unsuccessful. A sufficient number of Covenanters remained in town to make their protest, which was accordingly done in all due form. The public was much irritated at this apparent treachery on the part of Hamilton, and, on some voices being heard from the windows of the neighbouring houses calling the protesters rebels, could scarcely be prevented from rushing up stairs in search of the guilty persons, whom they seemed inclined to immolate on the spot.¹⁶

It may be asked, what had become of Episcopacy during the interregnum of all sorts of government? The answer is easy. As that religion had only been an exotic brought into the country against the will of the people, and which had never taken root in the soil, so it was easily banished; and now, so completely was the Presbyterian form of government and worship again paramount, that

no trace of that unrighteous plant was anywhere to be seen, except, perhaps, in the district of Angus and Aberdeenshire, where it constantly existed in some measure since the Reformation. A clergyman who had espoused the interests of this unpopular religion, and who had been accordingly ousted at the rise of the Covenant, has left a somewhat ludicrous account of the persecutions which he was obliged to suffer at Edinburgh, during the first four months of that novel species of government. The popular ministers, he says, contrived to make him, and one or two other stray Episcopalians who remained in town, *so odious*, by insinuating that their church was only a stalking-horse to Popery, that they scarcely durst walk the streets. For his part, he was sometimes dodged along the High street of Edinburgh by parties of the leading Covenanters, and by multitudes of the inferior orders, till, hearing them utter open threats against him, he ran up a common-stair for refuge; when they would pull out their swords, run up the stair after him, and cry, in a tone of bitter malignity, "Gif I had the Papist villain!"—as much as to say, "If I could catch the rascal, I should certainly make an end of him."¹⁷

Triumphant, however, as the Covenant was throughout the west of Scotland, the leaders could not help looking with chagrin and apprehension upon the disaffected district which has just been mentioned. The king had openly sent a letter to the town of Aberdeen, thanking its citizens for the fidelity which they had testified to him in not signing the Covenant. It thus stood a dangerous example of loyalty to the rest of the country. They feared, moreover, and not without cause, that the Marquis of Huntly might there erect the

royal standard, and soon bring an army of north-men to co-operate with the king, who was expected, in case of all treaties failing, to send his own army across the Border, while his ships descended upon the capital, and a band of Papist Irish invaded the western coast, in order to enclose them within four armies at once, one from each point of the compass. It was therefore resolved, that the Earl of Montrose, and a few inferior commissioners and clergymen, should visit Aberdeen, with a view to bring the inhabitants within the pale of the Covenant. This was done while Hamilton returned to London for his new instructions.

The commission for visiting Aberdeen arrived in that venerable city on the 15th of July, and were immediately waited on by the magistrates, who, however resolute in their loyalty, judged it proper at least to behave with their accustomed politeness to strangers of such distinction. They invited the young earl and his companions to an entertainment, called "the Courtesy of the Burgh," to wit, a collation of wine and comfits, being neither more nor less than what they and all other burgh dignitaries, in that hospitable time, were wont to offer to persons of condition who happened to visit or pass through their town. To the mortification of the worthy magistrates, the Covenanters informed them, in cold and haughty terms, that they could not join with them in any festive occupation, till such time as they were all alike bound in the brotherhood of the Covenant. So disgusted were they at this ungracious reception, that they immediately went away, and distributed the wine among the poor inmates of the Merchant's Hospital, as an expression of their contempt.¹⁸ "The like" [of this rudeness], says Spalding, with the

laudable pride of an Aberdonian, "was never done to Aberdeen in the memory of man."

Montrose and his associates seem to have secured, by this dreadful insult, the hatred of the whole people of Aberdeen. But there were other causes for their meeting with poor success in this loyal burgh. The ministers of the town, and divinity professors of the two colleges, were men of great learning, and convinced, as all divines except those of the church of Scotland are, that the early Christian church was governed by bishops. They were, therefore, prepared to combat every inch of ground with the Presbyterian clergy who had come to dispute with them. On these strangers requesting permission to preach in their pulpits next Sunday, the petition was politely, but peremptorily, rejected. They continued to preach their own doctrines to the people, and endeavoured, by all possible means, to prevent any desertion to the standard of the Covenant. When the Presbyterians found it impossible to get admission to the churches, they resolved to harangue the people in the open air. They chose the court-yard of their friend the Earl of Marischall's lodging, in the principal street, as the best place for attracting a congregation. There, in the intervals of public worship, they one after another assumed a place at an open window, and preached to an idle and sneering crowd, who assembled from curiosity below. The small respect which they met with here, as compared with the veneration in which they were held elsewhere, would almost seem to indicate that the people of Aberdeen in those days were essentially and constitutionally different from all the rest of the Scottish people. As one instance for all of the contempt in which they were

held, it may be mentioned, upon the authority of a contemporary Aberdeenshire historian, Gordon of Straloch, that, during their sermons, some persons, from the leads of an adjacent house, threw a raven into the crowd, no doubt as an emblem of their designs. The covenanting commission left the town a few days after, having only succeeded in procuring one subscription among the clergy, and a very few among the citizens.

The Marquis of Hamilton, in the meantime, held council with the king at Greenwich, regarding what was next to be done with the Covenanters. Charles had to thank his commissioner for at least the delay he had made ; but it was now found that the preparations for invading Scotland by sea and land were still incomplete ; and it was accordingly resolved, that Hamilton should return, and, by making ampler promises, endeavour to procure a still farther delay. He was instructed to grant their demand of a General Assembly, only assigning as late a date for it as possible, in the hope, that before it took place, the army and navy might be ready to accomplish their reduction. He returned to Holyroodhouse on the 8th of August, but found, to his consternation, that the hopes and the demands of the Covenanters were now higher than ever. They received his proposal regarding the General Assembly with thanks ; but they objected to the limitations which the king proposed to make on its freedom, and they openly threatened to call an Assembly and Parliament themselves, in which they should dissolve Episcopal government without compunction or reserve. Under these distressing circumstances, he could only plead for twenty days to go and get fresh in-

structions from the king, which was with difficulty granted.

On his second return to London, the main object of which was to allow Charles time for his preparations, it was thought proper by the royal counsellors that the king should at length give unlimited scope to their desires, in order to quiet them for the time, and perhaps render them the more obnoxious to the wrath which was nursing for them. Hamilton, therefore, returned to Scotland on the 20th of September, and gratified them by proclaiming a free General Assembly for the 21st of November, and a Parliament for the ensuing 15th of May. He at the same time showed a copy of the Negative Confession of Faith of 1581, which the king had signed, to satisfy his Scottish subjects that he abjured and detested Popery as much as they: and to this there being added a bond similar to that of the Covenant, but professing loyalty to the king in more explicit terms, it was attempted to set it up as an opposition Covenant, by which all the king's friends might be united. Little success attended this plan. The bond contained a clause for the maintenance of "religion as professed at present." The Covenanters easily saw that Charles designed to interpret this afterwards as an oath in favour of Episcopacy; and they felt disgusted at so mean and base a stratagem. Even the state-officers could only be prevailed upon to sign "the King's Covenant," as it was called, with a reservation in regard to this insidious clause. Hamilton also endeavoured to excite jealousies between the lay and clerical malcontents, about the right which each had to be represented in the Assembly, but without effect. Sensible of the necessity of union, they made mutual

concessions on that point, and expressed a resolution to each other to remain, in spite of all the schemes of their enemies, indissolubly united in the bonds of their sworn and sacred Covenant.

It seems to have been at this particular period of their history, that the Covenanters began to display symptoms of that peculiar hallucination, which their enemies always alleged as characteristic of them. Hitherto their views, both political and religious, and their whole conduct, had been perfectly rational, and consistent with the spirit of this world. It was now to be seen, that, as is often found in individual minds, a constant harping upon one favourite strain was to end, in their case, in producing what would appear to external and unconcerned observers, partial insanity. Of course, whatever they may be charged with on this score, is not to be attributed to any essential cause resting in their peculiar tenets or character, both of which were originally alike respectable; but is rather to be ascribed to the unhappy monarch who was the immediate means of exciting their minds beyond the bounds of reason. After all, it was perhaps only upon the vulgar, and those who would have been superstitious at any rate, that what is about to be related made any real impression.

There lived in Edinburgh, at this period, a girl of the name of Mitchelson, the orphan daughter of a clergyman, and one who had no doubt figured, among others of her sex, in advocating the principles, and mobbing the enemies, of the National Covenant. Her zeal in this sacred cause all at once assumed a wild and extravagant complexion; she began to fall into fits, and in her fits to utter incoherent ravings about the Covenant.

Being well acquainted with the Bible, she pronounced long harangues, either in real extracts from the Scriptures, or in language of a Scriptural cast. She also inveighed against all who opposed the National Covenant, or who signed that of the king, foretelling judgments which would befall, or at least, which she wished to befall them. When the affair became matter of public fame, she was conveyed to the house of a leading Covenanter, and there deposited in a large bedroom, which was more convenient than her own humble dwelling for receiving the visitors who now flocked to hear her. There she lay, prostrate upon a bed, with her face downwards, "*groffling*," as one of her historians expresses it, and uttering her insane orations to the multitude standing around. She sometimes intermitted her fits for several days; but always, when one was observed to be coming upon her, due notice was given throughout the town, and persons of all sorts, mostly women, flocked incontinent to hear her. Even clergymen beheld this strange spectacle with respect; and, as for the devouter sex, says the cavalier Straloch, "they prayed and wept with joy and wonder." Mr Henry Pollock, one of the leading clergymen of Edinburgh, was so convinced of the divine origin of her ravings, that he abstained from speaking while they continued, saying it was "ill manners to speak while his Master was speaking through her." Many of discreeter temperament believed the girl to be suborned by the Covenanters, or at least that her harangues were nothing but the natural results of a good memory; pointing out that, when interrupted by a question, even in her most excited moments, she answered pertinently enough, and

quite in a rational strain. But such was the general impression of her supernatural character, that nobody dared for the time to intimate disbelief, for fear of the public indignation ; though afterwards, as Burnet remarks, when the fits abated, the party were glad to turn off the whole as a natural distemper.

Whatever was the cause of her ravings, the language of them was for the time acceptable to the popular ear. She talked perpetually of Christ, whom she termed "Covenanting Jesus." She said the National Covenant was approved of in heaven, but that the King's Covenant was an invention of Satan ; the former should prosper, but the adherents of the other should be confounded. Some persons took the trouble to write down her oracles in short hand, and one particular paper of them was handed about, the first words of which ran in the following pompous strain :—" On the —th day of —, in the year —, Mrs Mitchelson awoke, and gloriously spoke," &c. On this paper's coming into the hands of a non-covenanting nobleman, the Earl of Airth, he had the courage to blot out the word " gloriously," and insert "*gowkishly*," a Scottish adverb applicable to the last degree of foolishness. But, as the paper proceeded on its way, his lordship's emendation excited general displeasure ; and, in the course of a few days after, on his appearing in the street, it was only by the use of his legs that he escaped the death of St Stephen, which an enraged multitude of women were prepared to administer for his offence.¹⁹

CHAPTER VII.

THE GLASGOW ASSEMBLY.

Now, now, for sure deliverance is at hand,
The kingdom shall to Israel be restored.

MILTON.

THE archiepiscopal city of Glasgow was chosen by the commissioner for the meeting of the General Assembly, on account of the influence which he possessed over it by the propinquity of his large Clydesdale estates. He himself arrived there, on the 16th of November, attended with a great train of vassals and friends. Having previously issued an order that none of those who had business at the Assembly should appear in arms, he had enjoined his own people to bring no arms except those which were then generally carried by gentlemen as a part of dress. But the Covenanters had distrusted him in this matter. Under pretence that the country around Glasgow was much infested by robbers, they came completely armed, even the ministers carrying swords by their sides, and pistols and daggers in their belts.¹ By both parties, indeed, the Assembly seems to have been considered not only a trial of political strength, but a sort of convocation which might terminate in the actual commencement of war.

Among the prodigious multitudes which flocked to Glasgow on this occasion—multitudes greater, says Burnet, than had ever met at such an assembly in these parts of Europe—there were two strangers of peculiarly dismal fortune, the Bishops of Ross and Argyle, whom the marquis brought along with him in convoy, from the castle of Hamilton, and now deposited safe from the rage of the populace in the Castle of Glasgow.² Although the spiritual lords had all been summoned along with other members of Assembly, none of them dared to approach the scene, except these two, who were the men of greatest enthusiasm and boldness of the whole bench. It was seen and felt by all men that Episcopacy was to be completely swept away in this Assembly; and the unhappy prelates had absented themselves at once, from fear of danger to their persons, and from despair of their cause.

At length, on Wednesday the 21st of November, 1638, a day to be ever remembered in Scotland, the Assembly sat down in the dark and lofty Cathedral of Glasgow; a fit scene, in its impressive grandeur, for the transactions about to ensue. The crowd which besieged the doors was so immense, that it was with the greatest difficulty either the members of the Assembly or the royal commissioner could get in, or, when in, could reach their seats. This circumstance was artfully turned to account by the Covenanters. They caused the provost of Glasgow to strike a number of little leaden tickets, impressed with his arms and mark, and ordered that no one should be admitted who did not produce such a certificate. Of course, none but Covenanters and assured friends were favoured with tickets; and thus not only were they se-

cured of the popular countenance for their proceedings, but they actually rendered it next to impossible that any friend of the bishops should get admission to present their protest.

The external circumstances of this singular meeting were in themselves impressive. The commissioner sat upon a high chair of state, in all the pomp of a monarch; at his feet sat the privy council, in number about thirty. On forms around a long table in the middle of the floor, were arranged the Lords of the Covenant and the various representatives of the presbyteries, numbering two hundred and sixty, being three commissioners from each, besides almost as many lay assessors and ruling elders. A table was placed directly opposite to the commissioner, for the Moderator and clerk. In one end of the cathedral, there was a large gallery for distinguished spectators, especially the sons of the nobility. And every other part of the church, not excepting the high and remote vaults and passages, was as full as it could hold of ladies and the promiscuous multitude.

The first day of the Assembly was occupied in reading the marquis's commission, and in receiving the commissions of the representatives of the presbyteries. On the second, Mr Alexander Henderson was chosen moderator, under protest from the commissioner; who alleged that office to be null, since the introduction of Episcopacy. The commissioner next produced a paper from the bishops, which he requested to be read, but which was refused, with glaring illiberality, by the clergy. A series of protests from both sides then took place, to the weariness of all but the clerk, who received a piece of gold with each. Thus, the power of the Assembly, it will be observed, was virtually de-

nied by the king *in limine*, evidently for the purpose of afterwards finding occasion to rescind all their acts. The next few days were occupied in similar exhibitions of petulance on the part of the commissioner; he protesting against the greater part of all the individual commissions, as illegal.

It was not till the seventh day of meeting that the great struggle regarding the bishops took place. The protest of these dignitaries, in which they declined the authority of the Assembly, being then at length read, it was put to the vote, "Were they, or were they not, amenable to the power of that court?" At this moment, the commissioner rose, and, seeing the firm resolution of all present to proceed to extremities, announced, with tears in his eyes, that, notwithstanding his wish to serve his country in this matter, his duty to his king obliged him to break up the Assembly, and depart. He had brought them, he said, the amplest concessions regarding the recent innovations, and was empowered to limit Episcopal government in such a way, that it would be little better than a name; but he could by no means sanction the violent measures which he saw them about to take, in regard to the present incumbents of the Episcopal sees. They gave in a protest, as a matter of course, against his dissolution of the Assembly; but he left them as they were engaged in reading it, the council and all his friends accompanying him. So anxious was he to be gone from the scene of such irregular proceedings, or so much was he afraid of being implicated as sanctioning them by his presence under the same roof, that, finding the church-door locked, he hastily commanded it to be broken open by force, to permit his free departure.

This, it may be said, was the critical moment

when the Covenanters first showed a total disregard to the commands of the king, or began to act in the capacity of an independent government. Their minds, however, were wound up to a pitch of such excitement, that they expressed little alarm at the dangerous novelty of their situation. It was evening when the commissioner left them. They immediately ordered candles to be introduced, resolving, as it were, to constitute themselves a court by some piece of business, before dispersing for the night. The moderator then, standing up, addressed them in a solemn speech. No member of this Assembly, he hoped, would suffer himself, for fear or favour to any man, to be seduced from obedience to the commands of Christ, whose disciples they all were. "You are now, my brethren," he said, "to rely upon Christ's immediate presence amongst you. Him, from the very beginning of this grand work, you have found going favourably along with you. He bids all expect that things shall turn out for the best to those who commit themselves to him as their guide. Be not discouraged, although you find stumbling-blocks in the way. Consider how prejudicial this work has already been found to the kingdom of Satan, how acceptable it has been to Christ!" At the conclusion of his impassioned address, an incident occurred which produced a strong effect upon all present. The Lord Erskine, eldest son of the Earl of Mar, suddenly rising up in the gallery where he was placed with other sons of the nobility, cried out, "My lords, and other gentlemen here assembled, my heart hath been long with you; but I will dally no longer with God. I beg to be admitted into your blessed Covenant, and pray you all to pray for me to God,

that he will forgive me for dallying with him so long." As he spoke he wept, and the greater part of those who heard him, including the moderator, were also unable to refrain from tears. His example was followed by some others; and when all their subscriptions had been taken down, Henderson did not fail to bid the assembled multitude admire the evident encouragement which God was giving them, in thus bringing them new accessions of strength, at the very moment of all others when they might have expected defections.³ There was one other encouraging circumstance. At the departure of the commissioner, the Earl of Argyle (till recently Lord Lorn) remained behind, and openly expressed his intention of now joining their bands. The accession of so powerful and so sagacious a nobleman—considered the most powerful subject in the kingdom—was looked upon as immensely favourable to them; and many, moreover, had an idea, that his remaining behind the rest of the council, was a sort of oblique hint that they did not want the approbation of government.

In short, the tide of feeling being this night at the highest, it was judiciously resolved by the leading men to put two questions to vote, "Were they, or were they not, to continue sitting after the withdrawal of the royal countenance?" and, "Were they, or were they not, possessed of power to impeach and try the bishops?"—both of which were carried in the affirmative before they parted by an almost exceptionless majority.

The commissioner next morning discharged the meeting of the Assembly, by public proclamation at the Cross, under the pain of treason; but his edict was immediately answered with a protest by the Earl of Rothes. He then retired to

Edinburgh, where he exerted himself to fortify the castle in the king's behalf. This place of strength was found, at this critical era, to be garrisoned by only a few men, whose whole arms were one musket, and that not fit for use. He purchased the command of it from its hereditary keeper, the Earl of Mar, and having insinuated about forty sure men into it, without alarming the Covenanters, he intrusted the command to a stout old cavalier of the name of Ruthven, who had just returned, covered with distinction, from the wars of Gustavus Adolphus. When the leading Covenanters at Glasgow heard of what had thus been done in their absence, they dispatched a committee to the capital, to counteract the proceedings of the marquis; and resolved to make as quick work as possible with the bishops, that they might all return to the point which seemed to have been selected for the commencement of the war.

The first twelve sittings after the retirement of the commissioner, were employed in constructing and deliberating upon the indictments of the bishops, and in finding reasons for declaring all the Episcopalian forms, which had been introduced during the two late reigns, null and void. There being no party to oppose them, they, of course, found little difficulty in establishing their charges, or in making it appear that these charges were sufficient to demand the punishment which they were inclined to award. The crimes and ecclesiastical irregularities alleged against the bishops were in general very trivial, but it was absolutely necessary that they should be deposed.⁴ A sort of "delenda est Carthago" had gone forth against them. There seems to have been less difficulty found in abolishing the Episcopalian religion. Eve-

ry atom and portion of it had been notoriously introduced by illegal means; and to discharge it altogether, it was only necessary to declare, that the six General Assemblies, which had taken place since the commencement of the century, and by which it had been imposed, were, as all the world knew they were, totally illegal. The Scottish church was thus, by one act, restored to the pure Presbyterian system which had flourished in the first age of the Reformation.

Thursday, the 13th of December, being the twentieth session of this most remarkable Assembly, was appointed for the ultimate pronouncing of sentence against the bishops. There is something awfully appropriate to the occasion in the text which the moderator chose for his sermon that forenoon, (Psalm cx. 1;) "The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool;"⁵ and it may easily be conceived, that the sermon had no small effect upon the minds of the multitude who heard it, previously excited, as they had been, by all impulses of soul and sense, against the devoted objects of its magnificent and impressive eloquence. Henderson then pronounced, with the solemn and terror-striking manner peculiar to him, the sentence of the Assembly, which declared the two archbishops and six of the bishops excommunicated, four bishops deposed, and two suspended from ecclesiastical functions, till such time as they should regain admission to the church by conforming to its rules. The Episcopal office, to which the epithet of "pretended" was ostentatiously affixed, was at the same time declared to be for ever abrogated.

On the 20th of December, after having deposed

and excommunicated a great number of other clergymen who had displayed an attachment to Episcopacy, and after having appointed another meeting at Edinburgh on the ensuing 15th of July, the Assembly rose in triumph. "We have now," said Henderson, "cast down the walls of Jericho; let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite."

CHAPTER VIII.

COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES.

Pronounce your thoughts : are they still fixt
 To hold it out, and fight it to the last ?
 Or are your hearts subdued at length, and wrought,
 By time and ill success, to a submission ?

ADDISON.

THE open disregard of the royal authority, shown in the Glasgow Assembly, might almost be accepted as a declaration of war against the king. It was at least an avowal, on the part of the malcontents, that they were determined to have their own way, even at the risk of the royal vengeance. Yet, whatever cause Charles might have to complain of their disobedience, they certainly did not proceed to extremities without once more holding out terms of reconciliation. They sent, by Mr George Winram of Libbertoun, a supplication, petitioning for redress of their grievances, and a sanction of their late Assembly, which he had only to accept, in order to restore them to the condition of loyal and willing subjects. On this being read to him, however, by the Marquis of Hamilton, now returned to London, the inflexible monarch remarked, with bitter contempt, " Now they have broken my head, they would put on my

cowl." He returned no answer to their supplication, but prosecuted with all vigour the preparations he had long been making for war.

At this crisis, it may be proper to state, once for all, the prospects with which each party entered the campaign. Charles, on the one hand, reckoned among his chief supporters the high clergy, for whose sake he had provoked the war. Next, he had the favour of the Catholics, who encouraged hopes that the innovations of Laud, both in England and Scotland, would in the end turn out to have been instituted for the purpose of bringing all back to the Romish Church.¹ Both of these contributed money, to a considerable amount, for the payment of his army. In the last place, he had the favour of a band of courtiers—men, no doubt, much attached to him, but from their habits and circumstances able to yield him no money, and very little military force. With the clergy, the Catholics, and his courtiers, lay his whole strength. The general body of the nobility regarded his arbitrary politics and his fanatical religion with equal dislike. The people, with still less sympathy for his favourite objects, openly expressed a strong favour for the Scottish Presbyterians, whose publications had been industriously circulated among them.

It is true, Charles expected great assistance from the Catholics of Ireland, whom his favourite minister Strafford, the deputy, or lord-lieutenant of that country, had for some time been endeavouring to embody for his service, and who were expected to descend upon the west of Scotland, while the king himself approached it from the south. He also expected an auxiliary army to be raised in the north of Scotland by the Marquis of

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Huntly, the leader of the Catholic and Episcopalian interests there. Besides, he had bargained with Spain for ten thousand veteran soldiers from Flanders, on condition of his interfering to prevent the partition of that appanage of Spain by the King of France. Yet, as none of these accessions were to be depended upon, as either sure to come, or sure to fight well if they did come, he might be said to have but slender prospects of success on their account. He was, in reality, impotent—impotent in money, in military force, and in the total disaffection of his subjects to the cause. He was precisely in the predicament of a good sort of man, who has been thwarted in some unreasonable and capricious wish, who therefore falls into a dreadful passion, who looks about him to seek for the sympathy of his friends in what he considers his just cause of offence, but who finds every head shaking, and every eye-brow elevated, in tranquil remonstrance and pity, while not a fist is clenched, nor a step taken, to assist him in revenging himself upon the object of his resentment.

In opposition to these melancholy prospects of the king, the Scottish Tables could calculate upon an army fully as large as his, and ten times more likely to fight with spirit; an army, not composed of the unwilling vassals of either clergy or nobility, neither of unthinking savages nor cold mercenaries, but of hardy and valiant volunteers; men who understood the object of the quarrel, who felt deeply its merits on their own side, and who, animated by all the fervour of the warmest religious zeal, were resolved to fight to the last drop of their blood. Scotland, it is true, was a poorer and more thinly-peopled country than England, and, in an ordinary struggle, where the whole force of

both were brought into competition, would have stood but a miserable chance of success. In the present case, however, it was opposed, not to England, but to the king and his slender party. Besides, its energies were concentrated by an unity of feeling and object, from which there was scarcely a dissentient voice. It was headed by its natural and accustomed leaders, the nobility, who made common cause with the people. It derived confidence, and consequently strength, from the obvious excellence of its cause. Its very object—the preservation of a national and favourite religion—the security of a means of eternal happiness—was calculated to inspire more military ardour in each individual bosom in the kingdom than the complaints of the king—the disappointed wishes of a cold and unamiable despot—were likely to raise throughout the whole population of England.

Nor must it be supposed that Scotland entered into this contest single-handed. The whole Protestant interest in Europe, and especially the Presbyterian republics of the Low Countries, entered into its views with the warmest sympathy. It was even countenanced by France. Cardinal Richelieu, then at the head of affairs in that country, irritated at Charles for siding with Spain, and endeavouring to prevent the partition of Flanders, sent his almoner, Monsieur Cameron, or Chambers, to intrigue with the leaders of the Covenant, and to offer them an hundred thousand crowns to carry on the war. There seems, indeed, to have been a general opinion throughout Europe, as there certainly was in England, that Charles was imprudent and *in a passion*, and ought not to go to war with his Scottish subjects. He endeavoured to justify

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himself by all possible means ; but it was evident that his invectives against the Scotch, as rebels and traitors, were only the ravings of a disappointed imbecile. The declarations of the Covenanters everywhere counteracted his, representing themselves as suppliants whose only object was to preserve the religion of their forefathers, and who, in drawing the sword with the right hand, still held out a petition for peace in the left.

It was anxiously debated at this time, which of the two countries was in a state fittest for entering into war, so far as the population was concerned. In England there had been no domestic war since the insurrections of the pretenders in the reign of King Henry the Seventh, a period of an hundred and fifty years ; nor, on account of the peaceable nature of the late and preceding reigns, had the English people been much engaged in foreign warfare during the last half century. The people, in fact, during this period, had sunk in a great measure from their ancient warlike character, down into one of a commercial, and consequently a peaceful, complexion. They had been too happy to be very fierce ; for it is allowed by all historians, from Clarendon downward, that never was there a period of greater prosperity than that which preceded the commencement of this civil war.

On the other hand, Scotland had not seen the flash of arms since the Raid of Ruthven in the year 1585, a period of fifty-four years ; nor had it been engaged in any great or general struggle since the termination of the reign of Mary in the battle of Langside, a period of seventy-two. Still it had thus a much more immediate recollection of war, and of course a greater familiarity with its images and circumstances, than England. There were, indeed,

many still alive who had actually borne arms in the unhappy contests which distinguished the minority of King James; as, for instance, the Earl of Roxburgh, lord privy seal, of whom it is told by a contemporary historian, that his first appearance in public life was at the Raid of Ruthven, in a steel corselet, when only fifteen years of age. The rustic people of Scotland, a country exclusively agricultural and pastoral, were, at any rate, better calculated to start into a military attitude, than the comparatively commercial and manufacturing population of England. The English yeoman had long quitted and forgot his bill and his bow; but the Lowland peasant of Scotland still preserved his lance and broadsword, as a protection against the Highlandman and the moss-trooper; and these again had never once ceased to be in a state of active warfare, during the peace of all the rest of the nation.

To complete the superior advantages of the Scots, they were enabled by a fortuitous circumstance to discipline themselves much better than their English neighbours. A whole army of them had gone abroad some years before, to push their fortunes under Gustavus Adolphus, the heroic king of Sweden, in his celebrated contest with the Emperor of Germany. Most of these had no sooner heard of the Covenant, than, instigated by national predilections, and by religious principle, they accepted it. On their being informed, soon after, of the probability of a war commencing between their much-loved native country and the king, they hastened home, either upon a sort of invitation from the Tables, or with the intention of presenting themselves as candidates for employment. Their services were immediately accepted;

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and this body of adventurers, being dissipated throughout the country, eventually acted as a sort of leaven of discipline, whereby the whole army was put into a state of training.

One of the first proceedings of the Covenanters, after it became evident that war was inevitable, was to circulate in England, by means of the innumerable Scottish pedlars who traversed that country, a manifesto addressed to all good Christians, showing that their cause was neither more nor less than an opposition to Popery, and vindicating themselves from a charge which had been strongly alleged against them, that they were only factious rebels, aiming at the subversion of the royal authority. In this document, which was composed by Gibson of Dury, they also disavowed an intention which they were accused of entertaining, to invade England. The king met their manifestoes and other publications, the circulation of which he found it impossible to prevent, with a declaration, which he caused to be read in all the parish churches throughout England, and a volume called "The Large Declaration," which he caused to be printed, setting forth the whole of his proceedings in regard to Scotland, and endeavouring to give the colour of treason and sedition to all the actions of the Covenanters. But the public at the time found little difficulty in preferring the statements of the Covenanters, expressed as they were in a tone of pathetic and devout melancholy, which found sympathy in every pious bosom, to those of the king, in which it was impossible to see any thing but the peevishness of a man who had at first been very unreasonable, and was now very much disappointed.

It has been much disputed, but is evidently not

to be now decided, which party first commenced this unfortunate war. The Covenanters agreed, in a grand meeting which they held at Edinburgh on the 26th of February, to levy an army; while the king did not, till the 27th of the same month, publish his proclamation, commanding the nobility, with their vassals, to meet him at York, on the ensuing 1st of April. But both parties had long before been making preparations; and the priority of the declaration of the Covenanters seems to have been merely accidental. Whichever first declared war, there can be no doubt that the king was the first to make aggressions; this he did by arresting all Scottish ships lying in English harbours, and stopping all commercial intercourse between the two kingdoms. He also ordered his war-vessels to stop whatever Scottish vessels they found trading upon the seas; and he intercepted all posts and passengers bound from England towards Scotland, for the purpose of preventing the Covenanters from learning the extent of his preparations.

The design of the campaign, as laid down by the king, is stated² to have been as follows:—He himself was to lead an army of thirty thousand horse and foot towards the Borders. Berwick and Carlisle, the two chief frontier fortresses, were to be garrisoned, the first with 2000, and the other with 500 men. The Marquis of Hamilton, with an experienced naval officer, of the name of Sir John Pennington, was to sail in command of the fleet to the Frith of Forth, where he was to land and seize Edinburgh, and thereafter to form a junction with the Marquis of Huntly. The Earl of Strafford and the Earl of Antrim were to bring over their Irish auxiliaries to the Frith of Clyde, and, joining with the great Highland clan of Macdonald, overrun the

lands of the Earl of Argyle, upon which Antrim and the Macdonalds had some obsolete claims of property ; being, in the first place, reinforced at the Isle of Arran (the property of Hamilton) with all the marquis's vassals there.³ The command of the royal army was committed to the Earl of Arundel, a nobleman of ancient family, but an avowed Papist ; the Earl of Essex, afterwards so celebrated as the parliamentary generalissimo, was made lieutenant-general of the foot ; the Earl of Holland of the horse.

To oppose these formidable preparations, the Covenanters appointed what they called a committee of war to sit in every county, with a detachment of the adventurers, to raise and discipline a regiment. The chief covenanting nobleman of each county was placed at the head of each corresponding regiment, with the title of Crowner ; and the principal gentry were appointed to act as the inferior officers. The most distinguished of all the German veterans, Alexander Leslie, an old deformed man, but possessed of singular military talents and experience, was appointed general in chief, though with a hint not to assume too high a tone over the covenanting lords ; and as for his companions, they were placed in situations rather of trust than of nominal rank ; it being apparent that the nobility and gentry, jealous as they had always been of their honour, would not tolerate a postponement to these loose and often low-born adventurers.⁴ Money they borrowed to the amount of two hundred thousand merks (L.11,500) from Mr William Dick, a merchant in Edinburgh, considered the richest in Scotland of his time, whose favour they had secured by making him provost of the city. By the activity of their friends abroad,

they were soon provided with arms for about thirty thousand men ; and, in the meantime, Leslie had established a foundry for cannon, in a suburb of Edinburgh, termed the Potterrow.

It is a remarkable proof of the unpopularity of the royal cause, that even the grooms of the king's palace, of whom many were Scotsmen, yielded it none of their sympathies. When the royalists who fled from Scotland, arrived at the palace, to take the protection of the king, these personages openly sneered at and reviled them as traitors to their country. They betrayed a still stronger symptom of disaffection, it is said, by searching the king's pockets for letters while he was asleep, and transmitting correct copies of them to their friends in Scotland. By some such means as this, the Covenanters became very early aware of the plans which Charles had laid for the conduct of the campaign, and especially of the intended descent upon the shores of the Frith of Forth.

No sooner was it known that this important part of the kingdom was to be attacked, than the most vigorous preparations were made to defend it. Fife, the northern shore of the Frith, happened to be perhaps the most enthusiastic district of Scotland in favour of the Covenant. *There*, of course, no efforts were found wanting. The country rose *en masse* ; temporary fortifications were cast up around the chief towns ;⁵ and, a quantity of iron cannon being procured from some ships which lay in their harbours, the whole coast from end to end was soon bristling and glittering with the means of defence. On the opposite shore of Lothian, the whole care of the community seems to have been concentrated upon a single point—the port of Leith ; which, as it commanded Edinburgh, was

certainly a point of some importance. The fortification of this town was a sort of national undertaking, and served to show, in a very striking manner, the spirit which had now taken possession of all ranks of the people. It was no sooner determined by the Tables, that Leith should be fortified, than, waiting only till a preliminary fast was over, all and sundry flocked thither, to contribute their personal assistance to the work. There yet remained at the place the traces of a fort which Mary of Guise had erected for the reception of her French auxiliaries, and which had stood out a siege of some duration from the Lords of the Congregation, assisted by troops from Queen Elizabeth. Disregarding these traces, which only suggested reminiscences of shame and defeat, their chief engineer, Colonel Sir Alexander Hamilton, (one of the adventurers from Germany,⁶) drew out the plan of a fort, more extensive, and more accordant in form with the principles of modern tactics. To set an example to the people, the chief Covenantee leaders, noblemen not excepted, carried a few baskets of earth, which they deposited as a foundation to the walls. The whole assembled multitude, numbering several thousands, then commenced the work simultaneously; forming a scene, of which the animation and the singularity were not forgotten in Scotland for generations. Noblemen, gentlemen, and citizens of Edinburgh—men, women, and children—even delicate ladies of quality—"all sexes, sorts, and sizes of people," says a contemporary—laboured at once at this public work, and were proud to labour. Such was the effect of this strange enthusiasm—the work being carried on night and day—that in less than a week the fort

was completed, and the town of Edinburgh considered secure from all attacks on this quarter.⁷

It was the next object of the Covenanters to seize the king's forts throughout the country, which might have otherwise acted to their annoyance. One day, the 23d of March, was secretly appointed for this purpose, and detachments were sent off beforehand, in order that the whole might be surprised by a *coup-de-main* before any one heard of the fate of the rest. Leslie himself undertook to seize Edinburgh Castle, which at this time was garrisoned only by a few servants of its late keeper the Earl of Mar, under the command of Captain Alexander Hadden, a gentleman of Aberdeenshire.⁸ Stratagem, as well as force, is said to have been employed in this undertaking. During the forenoon, one of the devout gentlewomen of Edinburgh went to visit Captain Hadden, and staid with him to dine, in order to divert his attention from the works, which her friends without were to take that opportunity of attacking. In the afternoon, Leslie approached, with a few companies which he had been exercising that morning, as usual, in the outer court-yard of Holyroodhouse, and some of which he disposed in the closes at the head of what is called the Castle-hill Street, while with two chosen troops he went up to the exterior gate of the castle.⁹ He immediately called a parley with the captain, who, contrary to his expectation, refused to surrender. Both parties then retired from the gate, and the captain with his garrison was quietly standing upon the high battery, looking over at the besiegers, when a petard, which Leslie had hung against the gate, burst and laid it open. The Covenanters then applied their axes to the inner gate, and scaling-ladders to the wall, by

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which they soon gained admission, while the garrison, appalled at the explosion, and the vigour of the attack, drew not a sword, but patiently surrendered. Thus the principal fortress in the kingdom was taken without the least bloodshed, and in less time, says Baillie, than half an hour. That night the Lords of the Covenant supped in the castle; and next day, they lost no time in repairing the gate, and putting the whole fort into a state of complete defence.

Dumbarton castle, which was, if possible, still more important than that of Edinburgh, as the Irish invaders intended to plant themselves there for the annoyance of the country, was taken by a still more dexterous manœuvre. On a Sunday, the day after that appointed for the general surprise, the captain, a loyal man of the name of Stuart, went out to hear sermon at the church of the neighbouring town of Dumbarton. He was there waylaid, and seized, with his slender train, by the Covenanting party, who immediately commanded him to change clothes with one of themselves, and to acquaint them with the pass-word. When night came, they proceeded to the castle, caused the man in the captain's clothes to request admission, and being accordingly admitted, at once overpowered the little garrison, and took possession of the works.

The Earl of Argyle at the same time taking care to seize the Marquis of Hamilton's castle on the isle of Arran, the prospects of the Irish invaders might be considered as materially curtailed. Those of the Marquis of Huntly in the north were not brightened by a party of the Covenanting clans seizing the Castle of Inverness, which he had hitherto possessed. The popular party also took

care to disable, in a similar manner, the Marquis of Douglas, a south-country Papist nobleman, to whom they looked with considerable dread. They seized his castle of Douglas in Clydesdale, after he himself had fled from it; and on the same day, they possessed themselves of the neighbouring castle of Strathaven, which belonged to the Marquis of Hamilton.

Stirling castle they did not attack, because they were already sure of the fidelity of its keeper, the Earl of Mar. They resolved, however, to attempt the royal castle of Dalkeith, which, on account of its propinquity to Edinburgh, and its possession by the doubtful Traquair, seemed capable of harbouring mischief against them. On the same day, therefore, that they took Edinburgh castle, they marched to this ancient seat, which, as Straloch remarks, having been long kept rather for pleasure than for strength, and being ungarrisoned, was quite unfit to hold out against them. They entered it by scalade, and possessed themselves of all it contained, without stroke of sword; Traquair having in the meantime fled to England. They here found the arms and ammunition which had been sent to Scotland, for the provision of Edinburgh castle, immediately before the arrival of Hamilton as commissioner; and also, in a chest which they forced open, the crown, sceptre, and other regalia of Scotland. These last they immediately conveyed in triumphant procession to Edinburgh castle, which they affirmed to be the place appointed in all former times for their keeping.

Of all the public fortresses in Scotland, the only one which they did not succeed in taking, was Carlavrock in Dumfries-shire, which, on the attempt being made, was found not to be reducible

without cannon, and, what was worse, without running the risk, by its propinquity to Carlisle, of embroiling them in active warfare with the English—a thing which they judiciously took every means to avoid. The whole country, from shore to shore, from the Border to the North Sea, might thus be considered theirs, with the single exception of Huntly's territory in Aberdeenshire and Moray.

The cavalier spirit of this district was now so strong and so high, that the country gentlemen, if we are to believe their friend Straloch, often quarrelled in their cups about the division, which they anticipated would soon take place among them, of the Covenanters' lands. The Tables did not regard them without strong apprehensions; for it was evident, that, although incapable of overthrowing their whole force, they might do serious mischief by harassing the country while the army went to meet the king upon the Borders. It was therefore resolved, that the young Earl of Montrose, who had already displayed so much zeal in their cause, and who possessed most influence in the country adjacent to the disaffected district, should embody a small army out of the population of that district, and, with General Leslie for his adjutant and adviser, march northward to reduce the reculant Aberdonians, and that ere the king should come to give them other work from the opposite quarter.

Previous to the actual, or proper commencement of this campaign, a lesser affair, or *raid*, as it was called, took place on the 14th of February, at the little town of Turray, or Tureff, which lies about eleven miles to the east of Huntly's chief seat of Strathbogie. The marquis, who had now pitched his head-quarters at Aberdeen, hearing that the Co-

venanters who resided within his district were then and there to hold a muster, for the purpose of co-operating with the Tables, resolved to overawe and disperse them, by holding a muster of his own vassals at the same time and place. He therefore wrote letters to his chief dependents, bidding them meet him at Tureff, on the 13th of February, bringing with them only their ordinary arms, of sword and pistol. One of these dispatches came into the hands of the Earl of Montrose, who immediately determined to protect the convocation of his friends at whatever hazard. He carried this resolution into effect, with a hardihood and alacrity which seem to have been at all periods of his life alike characteristic of him. Collecting only about nine score of his surest friends among the gentry of Angus, he led them in an amazingly brief space of time over the vast range of hills called the Grangebean, which divides Angus from Aberdeenshire, and, on the morning of the 14th of February, before Huntly had yet arrived, he took possession of Tureff. When Huntly's friends came, during the course of the forenoon, they were surprised to find the little churchyard of the village filled with inimical troops, who levelled their hagbuts at them across the dikes, and seemed to forbid them to assemble. In the absence of their principal, they thought proper to retire to a place two miles south of the village, called the Broad Ford of Towie, where Huntly soon after joined them with his train from Aberdeen. Here a consultation was held, and it was debated, whether they should attack the Covenanting party, or postpone their meeting. Huntly himself at length determined, that as his commission of lieutenancy and instructions from the king enjoined him to

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act as yet only on the defensive, the meeting should be dissolved. The whole party accordingly dispersed, but with spirits less confident in their strength than they had previously cherished; it appearing strange to them, that their leader, with two thousand men, (for such was their number,) should hesitate to attack so comparatively small a party of their enemies.¹⁰

It was soon to appear, that this gentle and amiable nobleman was no match, either in arms or council, for the enterprising Covenanter opposed to him.

Montrose, on returning to his own country, immediately proceeded to embody his troops, according to the commission he had received from the Tables; and such was his activity, or such the willingness of the people to enlist, that, in about a month, he had drawn about three thousand horse and foot from the counties of Forfar, Fife, and Perth alone. He divided all his troops into regiments, appointing officers over the various companies. Their arms were complete in quantity, and excellent in quality. Every ordinary footman had a sword and pike. Each of the musketeers had a musket, a sword, and a staff, with bandaliers, containing powder, ball, and match. Every horseman had a carabine, two pistols in his belt, and two at his saddle-bow. The officers were all attired in buff-coats, which were ball-proof.¹¹ By a whimsey on the part of Montrose, each footman carried in his bonnet a bunch of blue ribbons, and each horseman a scarf of the same, as a sort of distinguishing badge.¹²

Before he was ready to march northward, the Marquis of Huntly and the town of Aberdeen made two attempts to enter into an armistice with him;

but he rejected all their proposals, knowing that they only wished to gain time, till they should be relieved by the approach of the king. He approached Aberdeen on the 29th of March, and next day entered the town, which he found to be deserted by the high Episcopalian doctors, who had given so much annoyance to his party by their controversial writings, as also by some of the principal citizens, sixty of whom, chiefly young men, had embarked a few days before, and gone to volunteer their services to the king. The fortifications which they had previously reared for their defence, they had latterly seen fit to abandon; and, although there were several thousand men in arms under the Marquis of Huntly, such was the infatuation of the party, that this important post was yielded without opposition.

Montrose used his triumph with discretion; for as yet it was not thought proper to proceed to extremities, as terms were still hoped for from the king. He only remained two days in the town, during one of which, Sunday the 31st of March, the clergymen who accompanied his army mounted the pulpits they had been excluded from a twelvemonth before, whence they inveighed with bitter severity against the town of Aberdeen, which they likened to Meros, who came not forth to help the Lord against the mighty. The cavalier Straloch also takes care to inform us, at this part of his curious narrative, that one of them pointed out to his congregation the singular fineness of the last three days, which were known in ancient superstition under the epithet of "the Borrowing Days," and invariably found stormy, but which, on the present occasion, had evidently

been rendered fair by God, out of favour to the undertaking of the Covenanters.¹³

On the 1st of April, Montrose, leaving a garrison in Aberdeen, under the Earl of Kinghorn, set forward across the country to meet the Marquis of Huntly.¹⁴ This unhappy nobleman, seeing himself bound up from active measures for want of permission from the king, and despairing of being able to resist Montrose's army with all the force he could muster, had now dismissed his followers, and was retired in peaceful fashion to one of his country seats. When he heard of Montrose's approach, he sent a friend, Gordon of Straloch, to sound the Covenanters as to the possibility of a meeting for the purpose of concluding an armistice; and this gentleman, ascertaining that Montrose had no disinclination to such a measure, undertook to effect a convention between the two parties, at Lowess, a village about midway betwixt Aberdeen and Strathbogie Castle.

The stipulations which were made previous to this meeting, and the circumstances under which it took place, were strongly characteristic of a period of civil dissension. It was agreed that each of the parties, Huntly and Montrose, should bring only eleven followers to the place of appointment, and these armed only with their swords. Before the parties met, each, as if by common consent, sent off an advanced guard to search the other for arms; and it was only on ascertaining that neither entertained a treacherous intention that the meeting took place. At the commencement of the conference, both noblemen grew hot with passion, and several high words passed between them; but on Straloch's proposing that they should communicate by proxy, they chose rather to retire to a

little distance from their followers, where they might speak more coolly. Here, after some time spent in earnest conversation, it was at length agreed that Huntly should subscribe, not the Covenant, as that was aimed at his own religion, but an equivalent bond, obliging himself to maintain the king's authority, and the laws and religion at present established,¹⁵ while Montrose should march back his army from Inverury, where it was encamped, to Aberdeen, leaving Huntly and his countrymen in the meantime unmolested.

Both parties accordingly retired—the northern chief to his castle of Strathbogie, and the Covenanting general, with his army, to Aberdeen. There, for a few days, Montrose employed himself in imposing the Covenant upon the people of the town and surrounding country, many of whom at length saw fit to accept it, because it was otherwise impossible to procure an exemption from the outrages of the soldiers.¹⁶ It was, however, presented to these people in a modified form. For the sake of the Papists, who could not be expected to sign a bond abjuring their own faith, an order was issued, with the name and sanction of Huntly, commanding that such as signed only the Bond of Maintenance, without the Confession of Faith, should be protected; the same as those who subscribed the whole. With some such reservation as this, the Covenant was at length accepted by the magistrates of Aberdeen, and by almost all the nobility and gentry of the province.

But the darkest scene in this play of mutual deception was yet to be acted. It being resolved to hold a solemn council at Aberdeen, for the final settlement of the north country, previous to the army marching south, Montrose sent a letter

to the Marquis of Huntly, inviting him to attend, and promising that, whatever might be the resolution of the committee, he (the marquis) should get leave to return safe as he came. Upon this assurance Huntly attended the meeting; after which, on the evening of the 12th of April, he supped in the house occupied by the chief Covenanters, and all were apparently very social and friendly. It was at this moment, however,—during all this show of kindness and hospitality,—secretly determined to seize the person of the unfortunate marquis, and convey him away a prisoner. After supper, on retiring to his lodgings, he sent off an avant-courier to make preparations for the journey which he intended to take homewards next day; entertaining not the least suspicion of the plot which was hatching against him.

There were at this time, among the ranks of the Covenanters, two clans, the Frasers and the Forbeses, who had joined from no real affection to the cause of true religion, but purely from a sentiment of hatred to the Marquis of Huntly, whose power over all the north country was such as to excite their bitterest envy and chagrin. To use the words of Straloch, they were anxious that the Cock of the North—such is one of the popular epithets applied to this great chief—should have his wings clipped. They had therefore used all their influence with Montrose, to induce him to make prisoner of Huntly; and their efforts were but too successful. Montrose's own inclinations treacherously directed him to the same object. His ambition was inflamed with the idea of leading such a great man captive, and of presenting him, as a substantial proof of victory, to the Tables at Edinburgh. Leslie, who might have ad-

vised him against such a violation of the rules of war, was absent ; and it might appear to him that the glory of achieving so desirable an object would, in all probability, redound so much to his praise with the leaders of the Covenant, as to induce them to give him the supreme command ; an object, which it is every thing but certain he had all along acted solely with the view of obtaining.

That night, guards were planted at all the gates of the marquis's lodging ; and next morning, when he rose to depart, he was met with a message requesting his attendance upon the Covenanters at their lodging. Surprised at this,—for he had taken a final leave of them on the preceding night,—and still more surprised at the sentinels he saw everywhere around him, he obeyed the order, taking his two sons along with him. Montrose passed with him the usual salutations of the morning, and betrayed no external symptoms of what he intended ; but immediately afterward proceeded to demand from him a contribution towards the disbursement of the 200,000 merks which the Covenanters had borrowed from Sir William Dick. The marquis excused himself from paying any share of a debt which he had had no share in incurring, and mentioned that he had already been at as great expenses in this business as any nobleman in the country. Montrose then requested that he would order his vassals to suppress a band of Highland robbers who had lately given considerable disturbance to the friends of the Covenant. But Huntly again excused himself, observing that he had no commission to that effect. Lastly, the Covenanting general entreated he would become reconciled to Crichton, Laird of Fren-draught, a gentleman with whose family the Gor-

dons had long been at feud, and who was strongly suspected to have set fire to his house a few years before, for the purpose of destroying some of the marquis's nearest kinsmen; to which request Huntly answered, that he never had, and never would, come under an obligation to take by the hand an enemy against whom he bore such just cause of hatred. Montrose then shifted his ground, and, putting on an air of frankness, said, "My lord, seeing we are now all friends under the same covenant, will you go south with us?" Huntly answered in the negative, remarking that he had made his arrangements to go that morning to Strathbogie. "Methinks, my lord," said Montrose, "you will do well to go with us;" plainly insinuating that if he did not go with his will, he should be forced, and that it would be better to yield with a good grace. Huntly understood the hint, but answered, with a spirit which refused to take advantage of it, "My lord, I came to this town upon assurance that I should come and go at my pleasure, without molestation; and now I see, by the condition of my lodging and by your mysterious discourse, that ye design to take me against my will to Edinburgh. This, in my opinion, is not fair or honourable." Immediately afterwards, seeing it vain to resist, he added, "Nevertheless, if ye will give me back the bond which I gave you at our first conference, you shall have an answer to your request." The general restored the bond; and Huntly inquired, "Whether he would take him by force, or of his own accord?" To which Montrose replied, "Make your choice." The unfortunate marquis then said, "I will not go as a prisoner, but as a volunteer;" and he immediately retired to his lodging to prepare for the

journey, it being determined that the army should quit the town that day.¹⁷

It is impossible to justify this piece of treachery on the part of the Covenanters, except on the principle that, with the natural jesuitism of the human heart when engaged eagerly in any favourite enterprise, they were content to do a little evil for the sake of accomplishing what they esteemed a great good. It was an act of Montrose and the Covenanting clans alone; not of the whole party; although, when the marquis was brought to their feet, the Tables certainly did not reverse the deed which had been done by their deputies; an act of self-denial, perhaps, not to have been expected from any men who have power in their hands, and who do not require to do any thing for the sake of character. As for Montrose, he had afterwards sufficient occasion to regret his treachery; for when he turned to the king's side some years afterwards, and entreated the co-operation of the great cavalier clan Gordon, he found this injury still sticking in the throat of the marquis, and could upon no account obtain the assistance which he might otherwise have expected.¹⁸

Montrose, previous to his departure, exacted from the town of Aberdeen a fine of ten thousand merks, to defray the expenses of his army; but, strange to say, he did not deprive the citizens of their arms. He left the country under the charge of a committee of Frasers and Forbeses. His army, which had been reinforced by an accession of five hundred Highlanders from Argyle, finally departed on the 13th of April, leaving a people who had but put on a show of conformity, and who were now perhaps more exasperated against the Covenanters than ever, in so far as they had

additional causes of disgust in the abduction of their patron, the Marquis of Huntly, and in the spoliation of goods to which the soldiery had subjected them. To testify their unmitigated hatred of the gentlemen who had just left them, the ladies of Aberdeen are said to have adopted the strange fancy of tying blue ribbons round the necks of their dogs, and calling them, as they passed along the street, by the epithet of Covenanters.¹⁹

The Marquis of Huntly accompanied the army, along with his two sons, the Lords Gordon and Aboyne, who were as yet very young men, and who chose to attend their father in this way of their own free will. When they had travelled but a few miles, some of the chiefs of the family and other friends overtook them, and prevailed upon the Lord Aboyne to remain in the country as a sort of head to them, in the absence of his father; so that only Huntly himself and his eldest son, Lord Gordon, accompanied Montrose to Edinburgh. When they reached the city, they were committed close prisoners to the castle, at the command of the Tables; and every means were tried to induce the unfortunate nobleman to become an adherent of their party. But to all their requests Huntly gave a decided refusal; saying, with great spirit, that they might "take his head from his body, but they should not take his heart from his sovereign."

CHAPTER IX.

CAMPAIGN OF 1639.

Within a ken our army lies ;
Our men more perfect in the use of arms,
Our armour all as strong, our cause the best ;
Then reason wills our hearts will be as good.

SHAKESPEARE.

THE king had now come to York, and was daily getting his army into a more fit state for invading Scotland. On the 27th of April, he published at the market-cross of that city a proclamation, offering an act of oblivion to his insurgent subjects, on the condition that they should lay down their arms and restore his forts, but threatening otherwise to denounce them as rebels, and treat them accordingly. The Tables met this paper with one, in which they ridiculed the idea of a king of himself denouncing a whole nation as traitors without trial, and at the same time vindicated their reasons for commencing a war of defence.

The first serious alarm which the Covenanters experienced, in the midst of their enthusiasm, was on the 1st of May, when the fleet of the Marquis of Hamilton, consisting of twenty-eight sail, and supposed to contain five thousand foot soldiers, with arms for many more, entered the Frith of

Forth, and cast anchor opposite to Edinburgh.¹ At this ominous spectacle, all the people along the shores of the Frith found it necessary to make serious preparations for the struggle, which had hitherto been contemplated only at an agreeable distance, but which they now saw to be at hand. The spirit of the Scottish nation, however, was perhaps never displayed in a more striking manner than on this trying occasion. The English war-ships were no sooner seen, than thousands of brave men,—men of all ranks, from the peer to the peasant,—crowded to the shores,² and showed by the alacrity of their motions, by the resolution of their countenances, and by the arms in their hands, their determination to resist the unhallowed invasion. Amidst the multitude which flocked down from the city to Leith, there was an individual whose appearance excited unparalleled surprise, and perhaps scarcely less unparalleled ardour. This was the dowager Marchioness of Hamilton, mother of the commander of the fleet, a stern old dame, who derived her predilections in favour of Presbytery from no less pure a source than her father, the celebrated Earl of Glencairn, who had been one of the chief Lords of the Congregation. Mounted on horseback, and with two pistols at her saddle-bow, this venerable lady³ rode down to Leith, like another Elizabeth at Tilbury Fort, declaring to the crowd around her, that she would be the first to fire at her son, if he dared to set an inimical foot upon his native country.

It fortunately turned out, that Hamilton was neither able nor willing to do his country much harm. His soldiers were miserably raw—scarcely two hundred of them able to fire a musket—and withal so much exhausted with their sea voyage,

being chiefly young English peasants, that he was obliged to place them for refreshment upon the islands of Inch Colm and Inch Keith, which the Covenanters had unfortunately neglected to fortify. Besides, he was bound up by the king from commencing hostilities, till such time as he should hear of the royal army having approached the Borders. He therefore contented himself with dispatching a message ashore to the magistrates of Edinburgh, commanding them to read his majesty's proclamation at the Cross; a command which they of course disobeyed. His men set off a few fireworks from the islands where they were bivouacking, for the purpose of trying the nerves of the peasants on shore; and Colonel Hamilton, the master of the artillery, pled anxiously with his commanders, to have permission to try his new cannon at the fleet;⁴ but no active warfare took place for several weeks.⁵

While Hamilton lay in the Frith, a good deal of correspondence took place between him and the chief Covenanters, some of whom even came aboard to treat with him; but it was found quite impossible to adjust the differences which lay betwixt them and their sovereign. With a superior army to the king's, and the certainty of a better cause, with the assurance they had of the disinclination of the English to the war, with the north subdued, the Irish forces known to be delayed, and the fleet found to be harmless, they felt no reason to descend from their demands; while Hamilton, on the other hand, could only offer them the terms of the late proclamation, which, being little better than a mere resignation to the king's mercy, were only treated with contempt.

Meanwhile, the 15th of May approached, and,

in terms of the king's proclamation in September last, the commissioners of parliament began to assemble. As might have been expected, they were prorogued by a royal order, except on condition of their accepting the terms of surrender offered in the last edict. It was the general expectation of their enemies that they would disobey this order, as they had disobeyed the commands of the commissioner at the Glasgow Assembly; but they resolved to pay it deference, probably for the purpose of conciliating in some measure the feelings of the sovereign, whom they had so long disobeyed. They only met once, to ratify the appointment of Leslie to be generalissimo, and to give Lord Balmerino the command of Edinburgh castle. They then resolved themselves into what indeed they had previously been, the Committee of Tables for the management of the national affairs.⁶

As the king began, towards the end of May, to move forward from York to the Borders, it was at length thought necessary to draw out the army which was appointed to meet him. At this uneasy juncture, however, the ill-suppressed cavaliers of the north, again beginning to rise, occasioned a sort of diversion, of which some notice must be taken, before recounting the particulars of the principal campaign.

There are said to have been two causes for the northern loyalists again rising—their resentment at the capture of Huntly, and a hope they entertained of getting the lands of the Covenanters divided amongst them, which the king had expressly promised in his last proclamation. The Lord Aboyne, whom they had retained as a head amongst them, had gone to seek assistance from the king at York; but when they heard of Hamilton's ar-

rival in the Frith of Forth, and of the king's march to the Border, they could no longer restrain their zeal, even though destitute alike of a commander, and of a proper commission for entering into warfare. Such was the ardour of even the common people in this cause, that they no sooner heard of the intention of their chiefs to rise, than they flocked of their own accord to the standard at Strathbogie. The actual commencement of military operations was hurried on by the circumstance of an assembly of the Covenantee Committee taking place on the 18th of May at Tureff.⁷ Resolving to disturb this meeting, they commenced their march from Strathbogie on the evening of that day, numbering about eight hundred strong, one half horse, and the other foot, besides four field-pieces. They reached the village before morning, and were not perceived till they had almost come up to the termination of the street, which the Covenanters hastily endeavoured to barricade. One discharge of their field-pieces along the street, and one smart attack, were sufficient to appal the surprised Covenanters, who hastily dispersed themselves in all directions, leaving the town a prey to the assailants. Very few men were lost on either side in this strange skirmish, which was the first collision that took place in the Great Civil War, and was afterwards distinguished in popular parlance, and in the familiar chronicles of the period, by the epithet of "the Trot of Turray."

Elated with their success, such as it was, the Gordons immediately proceeded to Aberdeen, where they spent some time in unrestrained carousal, at the expense of the citizens; to whom they proved, says Straloch, with pathetic emphasis, "but heavy friends." Here they were met

by Gordon of Straloch, who, representing to ^{them} the danger of acting as they were doing, without warrant, endeavoured to prevail upon them to disperse; but they only scoffed at his advice. On his proposing to mediate betwixt them and the Earl Marischal, whom they now proposed to attack, Sir George Ogilvie of Banff, a peculiarly violent cavalier, exclaimed, "Go, if you will go; but, pr'ythee, let it be as quarter-master, to inform the earl that we are coming." Straloch, too intent upon peace and the interests of his chief, to regard such a taunt, set out towards the residence of the Earl Marischal at Dunottar, for the purpose of explaining away their imprudence. They followed him hard across the bridge of Dee, but immediately after turned off to Durris, where they were joined by about a thousand Highlanders, vassals of the Marquis of Huntly, who had taken this opportunity of rising, and now approached under the command of their chief's third son, Lord Lewis Gordon. Lord Lewis was as yet but a boy; but, with a spirit beyond his years, he had leaped from the window of his grandmother's house, assumed the Highland dress, and put himself at the head of these men, for the purpose of pushing the interests and accomplishing the release of his father.

Straloch found the Earl Marischal pitched in the town of Stonehaven, close to Dunottar, but with a very small number of men. On his informing the earl of the intentions of the Gordons, and asking how he intended to treat them, Marischal answered that he would certainly not be the first to strike, but that if he was assailed, he should defend himself. With this information, Straloch returned to the Gordons, who, he found, had bi-

vouacked a night at Durris, and were greatly cooled by the night-air. They now listened to his arguments with some degree of patience, and at length, seeing no prospect of carrying on war to advantage, agreed to disband.⁸

Unfortunately, the Highlanders could not be prevailed upon to return home without recompensing themselves, according to their ancient custom, with a free exaction from the enemy. Their depredations were so extensive, and occasioned so loud a remonstrance, that the Covenanting Lords, who might have otherwise overlooked the Raid of Durris, as it was called, saw fit to make reprisals. The Earl Marischal advanced with a little army, entered Aberdeen on the 23d of May, and caused about thirty of the barons⁹ who had led the late expedition, to make a precipitate retreat. He was followed close by Montrose, who had been commissioned, at this interesting crisis, when all the chivalry of Scotland were flocking to the Border, to go northward with an army of about four thousand men, and do what he could for the suppression of these insurrections. Montrose made his third entry into Aberdeen on the 25th of May, and having previously discovered by intercepted letters that the citizens were still as loyal as ever, immediately imposed a tax upon them of ten thousand merks. His men at the same time made free with whatever food or other articles they thought fit to take, no protection being allowed to any persons, except to a few burgesses who were known to be true Covenanters. They revenged in a more truculent manner the affront which had been put by the ladies upon their blue ribbon or badge ; "every dog found in the town," says

Straloch, "whether grey-hound, house-dog, lap-dog, or whelp,"—

"Both mongrel, puppy, whelp, and hound,
And cur of low degree,"

being mercilessly slain by the soldiers.

When the cavalier barons saw what a storm they had brought upon their country, they convened at Strathbogie, to consult about some measure for allaying it. Here they learned that a great body of the Covenanting clans, including the Frasers and Forbeses, was approaching them from the opposite quarter, to co-operate with the army of Montrose. Hemmed in by two inimical armies, and in danger of being utterly extinguished, they determined, very wisely, to meet, and if possible overthrow one, before attempting the other. The first which they resolved to meet was that of the Northern Covenanters, which had already approached so near as Elgin, under the command of the Earl of Seaforth. With great expedition, therefore, they crossed the Spey, to the number of fifteen hundred, and, next morning, coming up to the town before the enemy were aware, had almost surprised them in their beds. Such was the good effect of this promptitude, and such the respect inspired by their success at Tureff, that, although no actual collision now took place, they forced the Covenanters to come under an obligation, not to cross the Spey or give the Marquis of Huntly's followers any annoyance.

Thus so far successful, the barons prepared to meet Montrose, who, on the 30th of May, advanced against them from Aberdeen. It was soon evident, however, that they had not numbers sufficient to face the Covenanting army; and every man determined in the meantime to retire to his

own house. Montrose, who had a considerable train of cannon, resolved to reduce a few of the chief castles throughout the country ; and in the first place, he set himself down before Gicht, the residence of a stout old cavalier named Sir Robert Gordon. But he had only been two days engaged in this business, when an incident occurred which forced him not only to raise the siege, but to quit the province.

The Viscount Aboyne had, as already mentioned, left the country in April, and gone to see the king at York. Charles was struck with the spirit of the youth, and entertained so confident a hope in his ability to raise his father's dependents, that he not only gave him the commission of lieutenancy over the north of Scotland, which he had previously bestowed upon the marquis, but also intrusted him with a letter to the Marquis of Hamilton, ordering him to give Aboyne all the assistance in his power, or which he judged proper, that he might raise his party in the north. Aboyne immediately sailed upon his expedition, but was disappointed to find that Hamilton could only allow him four field-pieces, with a few officers of experience. Nevertheless, he sailed onward to Aberdeen, in front of which he arrived with three ships on the 2d of June. His enterprise would appear to have been hopeless, for he had neither men nor money ; yet the conduct of the Covenanters soon enabled him to present a formidable front.

Montrose no sooner received intelligence, at Gicht, of his unexpected arrival, than he marched back his army to Aberdeen, to prevent him from landing. He arrived there on the 5th of June, before Aboyne had yet ventured ashore. There, probably learning that Aboyne had the royal com-

mission ; and conceiving, or being informed by his constituents, that to fight against him would retard the pacification of the nation with the king, he seems to have adopted the resolution of retiring southwards. He left the town next day, with all his forces, Marischal withdrawing at the same time, with all the furniture of his Aberdeen town mansion, to the strength of Dunottar. Aboyne then landed, and, having announced his commission, and uttered the king's proclamation at the Cross of Aberdeen, immediately proceeded to draw together his father's dependents and friends.

The conduct of this youthful soldier was at first characterised by an extraordinary display of resolution. Nor was his enterprise attended with less success. In an amazingly brief space of time, he had collected the whole cavalier force of the country, amounting to many thousand men ; and no sooner were they collected, than he crossed over the Dee, and threatened to attack Montrose and Marischal, who had posted themselves to intercept him, but with a very inadequate force, at Stonehaven. The only folly he committed in his expedition, was his sending the cannon, according to the advice of an officer named Gun, by sea, instead of keeping it close beside him on dry land. He posted himself, the first night, at Muchallis, the seat of Sir Thomas Burnet of Lyes ; and such was the apprehension with which the Covenanting generals beheld his approach, that they formed the design of taking refuge in Dunottar castle, which stood about a mile in rear of their position. Next morning, however, on Aboyne's forces making their appearance on the face of the Meagra hill, about half a mile from their camp, their prospects were unexpectedly cleared up. Aboyne, wanting

his cannon, which a sudden storm was at that moment driving out to sea, seems to have all at once lost heart. A few shot from the field-pieces of the Covenanters at the same moment disheartened his followers, especially the Highlanders, who were not trained to stand such heavy fire, and who looked upon what they called the "musket's mother" with a sort of superstitious awe. Finally, a motion being made to send a party round to the rear of the Covenanters, to prevent their retreat, and Gun expressing disapprobation of the measure, the whole army became impressed with a certainty of the treachery of that officer, whose advice had already lost them their cannon, with which they might have now replied to the shot of the enemy. In a state of confusion, and with the loss of half the army, Aboyne fell back upon Aberdeen, leaving a bloodless victory to an army not the fourth of his own.

The cowardice and total want of conduct displayed in this affair, which was afterwards known by the name of "the Raid of Stonehaven," will astonish the reader the more, when he is informed, upon the credit of Gordon of Straloch, that these were the very men who, a few years afterwards, performed such desperate and romantic deeds under Montrose.

In consequence of his retreat, Aboyne was soon deserted by the whole of his army, except the chiefs and gentlemen. Montrose now became assailant in his turn, and on the 18th of June approached the Bridge of Dee, which gives access to Aberdeen from the south. This important pass Aboyne resolved to defend, as a last resource for the salvation of his country; and to assist him in so worthy a public object, the town contributed all

the men it could muster. They had taken measures to obstruct the passage, by building up a wall of turf and stone behind the gate which closed the south end of the bridge; and, in some little turrets which guarded that gate, they had established a few musketeers. But Montrose brought with him a considerable number of cannon, which he began to play upon their defences with considerable effect. Nevertheless, the defenders stood their ground with great resolution, enduring even the fire of the cannon without trepidation. It was truly a struggle *pro aris et focis*, on the part of the defenders; for they knew that if they gave way, they could expect no mercy for either, from an enemy whom they had so repeatedly offended. Inspired with the same feeling, the very women and children of Aberdeen did not scruple to come forth into the scene of danger, with food and other necessaries for their protectors.¹⁰

The contest continued the whole day; and during the short twilight summer night which succeeded, both parties rested opposite to each other, neither feeling the slightest decay of resolution. Next morning hostilities were recommenced; when Montrose, at length seeing it vain to continue using violent means, and afraid, insinuates Spalding, that the news of peace, which was hourly expected, should arrive before he could take vengeance of the enemy, resolved to try the effect of stratagem. As if with the intention of crossing the river at a little distance above the bridge, he led off a considerable party of his horse, leaving the rest to continue the cannonade. The opposite party did not fail to perceive his motion; but, knowing that the water could not be passed by reason of an unusual flood, they did not at first think proper to regard it.

However, the officer Gun, of whose treachery they had formerly complained, had at length influence with Aboyne to get an hundred and eighty horse led off up the river, to oppose Montrose's party, thus leaving the bridge under the care of a very small party. When the Covenanting general perceived that his *ruse* was successful, he sent back the greater number of his own party, unnoticed, to the bridge, under the charge of Captain Middleton, (a brave officer, who afterwards reached the highest honours of the state,) with orders to make a vigorous charge against the now diminished bands of the defenders. The scheme was completely successful. The foot of the bridge having been previously in a great measure cleared by the cannon, Middleton rushed over it with irresistible violence, bearing down the few dispirited footmen who dared to oppose him. The whole body then fled towards the town, which was distant two miles, followed close by the victorious Covenanters.

Aberdeen—"the Brave Town of Aberdeen,"—as it is fondly styled by the cavalier historians of this period—was now placed in a situation of the greatest peril. What with the fines imposed upon it, the desertion of its little ecclesiastical aristocracy, and the ravages of various armies, it had already been rendered almost desolate; so that, to use the moving language of Spalding, its best citizens were to be seen "wandering up and down the country, with their wives and children in their arms and upon their backs, weeping and mourning in a most lamentable manner, and saying they did not know where to go." But now the measure of its woes was rendered still more complete, by its being laid at the mercy of an enemy who threatened it with

indiscriminate pillage, and even with conflagration.

At their first entry into the town, on the evening of the 19th of June, the Covenanters treated it with great rudeness, throwing many persons into prison whom they suspected of having been engaged in the last insurrection; and the general cry of the army was, that the town deserved to be burned. Montrose, it is said, was urged by his instructions from the Tables at Edinburgh, to take this last measure of vengeance against it; but, fortunately for their reputation, and for the cause of humanity, he hesitated to obey so barbarous a dictate. He represented to the chiefs who accompanied him, that Aberdeen, for wealth and commercial importance, was the very *London of the north of Scotland*, and that to destroy such a town would not only be a grievous injury to the inhabitants, but might be highly prejudicial to the interests of the army, and consequently to the general cause.¹¹ His arguments prevailed on the Earl Marischal and the Lord Muchalls, two persons who had a local interest in the preservation of the town, to sign a bond obliging themselves to take a share in the blame which might be imputed to him for his leniency; and, thus fortified in his resolution, he commanded his soldiers to respect the property of the citizens. Next day, the matter was set at rest by intelligence of the pacification which had taken place, on the 18th, betwixt the king and his subjects.

To resume the principal narrative.—The Tables, learning about the 20th of May that the king was advancing against them from Newcastle, gave orders for the immediate march of the army to meet him on the Borders. The final muster, pre-

vious to the march, took place on the Links or Downs of Leith, May 20, when from twelve to sixteen thousand men made their appearance, all well armed in the German fashion already described, and commanded, either by native officers, whom they loved and revered as their natural superiors, or by Scottish adventurers, who were equally eligible on account of their hardihood and experience in military affairs. With the exception of one trumpeter, a German, all were Scotsmen by birth—men brought immediately from the hearths and altars which it was the object of the war to defend, and not one of whom mingled, in the motives which caused him to take arms, a single mean or selfish passion.¹² The great body of the private men were ploughmen, stout rustics, whose bodies had been rendered as muscular by healthy exercise as their minds were exalted by patriotism and religion.¹³ A considerable proportion were from Ayrshire and the western counties, the peasantry of which have ever been conspicuous, above all others in Scotland, at once for vigour of body and devotedness of mind.

The soldiers were this day, for the first time, properly constituted as an army, by having read out to them a series of articles of war, which had been compiled, after the model of those of Gustavus Adolphus, by General Leslie, with the advice and consent of the Tables, and a printed copy of which was delivered to every individual soldier. Leslie himself at the same time took an oath of fidelity to the Covenanting government, acknowledging himself liable in all things to civil and ecclesiastical censure. This singular old man had already gained the esteem of the whole community by the zeal which he displayed in their cause—zeal

of which the sincerity was attested by the fame of his exploits in Germany in behalf of the true religion, and more obviously by the scars which he bore on the front of his person in consequence of these exploits.¹⁴ He was old, deformed, and altogether mean in his appearance ; yet the consummate skill which he displayed in military affairs, the outward piety of his deportment, and, above all, the deference which he perpetually paid to his constituents, rendered him, it is affirmed, a much more popular and well-obeyed general than ever the nation had had, in even the most warlike and beloved of its kings.¹⁵

The army thus mustered for the Borders, comprised in reality but a small portion of the real force of the kingdom. All the available men beyond the Tay—that is to say, in the whole northern moiety of the country—were employed under Montrose in opposing the insurgent cavaliers of Aberdeenshire. Argyle's Highlanders were posted at Stirling, ready to defend either the west coast from the descent of the Irish, or the east from that of Hamilton's navy. The Lord Johnston¹⁶ lay with a considerable body in open garrison at Dumfries, to overawe the Earl of Nithsdale's Catholic vassals. A considerable portion of the men of Ayrshire and Galloway remained with the Earls of Cassilis and Eglintoune, to protect that portion of the coast. In even the important and populous districts of Lothian and Fife, the greater proportion of the peasantry were required to remain at home inactive, merely to defend the coast, in case of the Marquis of Hamilton offering to land.¹⁷ Besides, there were throughout a great many, who had not yet been excited, either by feelings of patriotism or devotion, to the pitch necessary for taking up arms.

Leslie marched from Leith Links on the 21st of May, with the van of the army, leaving orders with the remainder to follow next day. As he marched, he dispatched orders in all directions, commanding the country people to bring in supplies; and ordering all who intended to join, to bring with them, not only arms, but as much provisions as they could conveniently carry. These orders were so well obeyed, that he increased both his stock of stores and the number of his army at each successive stage. He halted the first night at Haddington, the next at Dunbar, and the next again at Dunglass, a strong castle at the eastern extremity of Lammermuir, where he formed entrenchments, and made a halt.

When Charles heard that the Scottish army was thus arrived within a day's march of the Borders, his obduracy began for the first time to give way. In the fine metaphorical language of Baillie, his supplies of men in England had failed like the summer brooks; and the country which, three hundred years before, had sent armies with its kings against Scotland of upwards of an hundred thousand men, now did not contribute above sixteen thousand. The nation was loud in exclamation about its own grievances, especially in regard to the non-convocation of parliament for so many years, and their being called to the present war, without the sanction (formerly considered indispensable) of that assembly. While the king, therefore, advanced, although he and his nobles conducted themselves in every respect as if sure of dispelling the insurgent bands of the Scots, and maintained the airs of a court rather than a camp, the gross body of the army, at once smaller in numbers and not so well officered or disciplined as that of the Covenanters,

took no pains to conceal their disinclination to the cause. Charles soon became aware, by means of spies, of the different state of the Scottish army; where, according to some such information, as reported in the "*Historia Motuum*," the officers and soldiers were marvellously harmonious, joining together in frequent exercises of devotion, public and private, and where, moreover, the vices of drinking, swearing, obscene language and behaviour, quarrels and slaughter, common to other camps, were totally unknown, the whole army dividing their hours between prayers, sermons, meals, and military exercises. Thus induced to hesitate before coming into actual collision with so well-appointed and so highly animated a body of soldiers, he caused the Earl of Holland, commander of his horse, to send a trumpeter to the Scottish camp, with letters from himself¹⁸ to the Scottish nobility, in which they were informed, that the objects of the king's preparations were only to secure peace; and, with a proclamation of much milder import than that which Hamilton had been commissioned to publish, forbidding them to come within ten miles of England, and promising, upon the demonstration of their temporal obedience, that all their just supplications should be granted. The gentleness expressed by this document, pleased the Covenanters very much. It was, to use Baillie's beautiful image, the first *blue bore*¹⁹ that appeared in their cloudy sky. Their conduct, on receiving it, was such as to show, that one word of kindness from their sovereign would have, at any period of these unhappy troubles, been more effective with them, than a victory gained over them in a stricken field. They immediately returned an answer to the English general, informing him that they should

obey his commands, by approaching no nearer. At the same time, they dispatched Sir John Hume, a gentleman in their confidence, with instructions to the Earl of Holland, and the rest of the English nobility, avowing, with all earnestness, that their whole and only object in the approach which they had already made towards the Borders, was the reasonable one of defending their own laws and liberties.

On the 28th of May, Charles encamped at the Birks, a plain on the English side of the Tweed, about three miles above Berwick. Soon after, an incident occurred, which very nearly spoiled the hopes of peace which had been held out by the late letters and proclamation. For some months past, several regiments of the Covenanting army had lain at Kelso and Jedburgh, under Colonel Robert Monro, for the protection of the Borders; and there they still continued, while the main body of the army approached to Dunglass. On the 3d of June, the king sent off the Earl of Holland, with thirteen troops of horse, three thousand foot, and some field-pieces, to drive them out of their posts. His reasons are variously stated by historians. By Straloch he is said to have imagined that these troops lay nearer the English Border than he had lately stipulated with the commanders of the main body. By others it is insinuated, that he only wished to publish his proclamation at Kelso. Baillie attributes his conduct to a sort of retraction of his kindness, which he was induced to make on observing the Covenanters display a suspicious willingness to obey him. There is most probability in the last surmise; as, it is to be observed, the proclamation he wished to publish, was not the late gentle one, but one of former date, which

denounced as traitors all who retained arms, and as, moreover, he had only the day before, by a letter to the Marquis of Hamilton, given final and peremptory orders for a descent upon the coast—in his own words, “set his lordship loose, to do what mischief he could upon the rebels.” Altogether, it seems certain, that, at this particular period, (the first few days of June,) he entertained the design, which he so recently appeared to have abandoned, of proceeding to extremities against his subjects.

The Earl of Holland proceeded with his little army to Dunse, the first town reached in that direction within Scotland. He found it deserted by all the inhabitants, except a few loyalists, who heard the proclamation read with loud acclamations. He then proceeded westward to Kelso. The Scots troops, however, having had intelligence the night before of his approach, were ready to receive him; and on his appearing with his horse at Maxwellheuch, a height above the town, they drew out their whole strength to oppose him. To his surprise, their numbers appeared much greater than he had anticipated, and, to add to his chagrin, his foot, owing to the sultriness of the day, were left three long Scottish miles behind. He sent out a trumpeter, to command the rebels to retire from the Border, according to the late promise of their leaders; but on the men approaching, and answering to the question of “Whose trumpeter he was,” that he was “My Lord Holland’s,” they told him he had better be gone.²⁰ Holland, informed of their peremptory language, and alarmed at the promptitude of their appearance, thought it prudent to take the hint, and accordingly gave orders for a retreat. Some of the Scottish soldiers, on seeing this motion, called out

“to pursue the flyers;” but their colonels judiciously abstained from doing what would, in all probability, have precipitated a collision between the king and their party. They contented themselves with the triumph of seeing a body of horse, almost equal to the whole amount of their foot, and backed by another body still more powerful, fly at the mere sight of their faces, without presuming to draw a sword against them.

Leslie was no sooner informed of this affair, than, wisely judging that the king would take some means of repairing his credit, he resolved upon drawing the Kelso forces under his own protection. Rising therefore from Dunglass, and sending orders for Monro to march towards him, he led forward the army to Dunse, where the whole met on the 5th of June. Dunse was within six English miles of the Border; but, after the late invasion of Scotland by the king, he probably did not think it necessary to preserve the full amount of distance from England which Charles had assigned. Observing, therefore, that this was an excellent post, in so far as it lay directly betwixt the royal forces and the capital, whether they might adopt the road by Soltra or that by Haddington, he judged it expedient here to pitch a permanent camp. There is behind the town of Dunse a fair round hill, of the moderate size and height which is usually termed in Scotland a *Law*, which, on account of its rising abruptly out of the spacious plains of the Merse, is very conspicuous in every direction around, and from which it was, on the present occasion, possible to see the king's camp at the Birks, on the opposite side of the Tweed. On the broad and level top of this hill

—the celebrated *Dunse Law*—Leslie at once determined to take up his position.

A circumstance may here be mentioned, which points out, in a very striking manner, how inferior the English army was to the Scots, in all the points of tactics so necessary to the character of a modern army. The Scots made the important movement just described, without the English generals having taken care to inform themselves of it! On this day, the king held a grand review of his troops, who, in high order and holiday garb, made a very fine show. But scarcely were they dismissed, when an alarm was given that the Scots were approaching, and the whole army was in an instant stricken with dismay. The principal officers ran to the king's tent with the intelligence, and, in their consternation, pointed out to his majesty what they supposed to be the approaching lines of the enemy. Charles coolly took out his perspective glass, and, walking out to the river side, plainly discerned the Scottish army settled upon the top of Dunse Law, to the number, as he rightly conjectured, of eighteen thousand. He turned to his generals, and contemptuously asked, "Have I not good intelligence, when the rebels can march with their army, and encamp within sight of mine, and I never hear of it till their appearance gives the alarm?"²¹

Perhaps there never was assembled, since the period of the crusades, a more remarkable or interesting body of military enthusiasts than that which now lay encamped on Dunse Law. It is certain, at least, that their camp was the most interesting scene of the kind ever seen within Scotland. An attempt has already been made to describe the high strain of religious sentiment which

animated these troops ; and it may now be necessary to paint their mere external circumstances, more especially as some of these reflect a strong light on the character of the army.

The position of the Covenanters, as already mentioned, was the broad and level top of a hill rising out of the plain of Berwickshire. To the south and east, where the ascent was gentlest, and in which direction lay the king's camp, they pointed their cannon, which amounted in all to about forty pieces. The noblemen and gentlemen who commanded regiments, as Rothes, Lindsay, Balcarras, Loudon, Montgomery, Erskine, Boyd, &c. (termed Crowners,) lay in high large tents ; their captains around them in lesser ones ; and the soldiers in shingle huts covered with straw or turf. At every captain's door there flaunted the colour of the company, a large blue flag, adorned with the Scottish arms, and inscribed with the emphatic motto, " FOR CHRIST'S CROWN AND COVENANT." Leslie himself lay, with a strong guard of musketeers, in Dunse Castle, at the bottom of the hill.²²

A wonderful degree of harmony pervaded all ranks of this singular army. The noblemen, among whose reasons for resisting Episcopacy was the very strong one that they were to be its paymasters, felt quite as warmly, it is to be supposed, in the cause as the simple peasant, who only objected against it as unacceptable to his conscience. They had, therefore, all along taken the lead both in the supplication and in the war—they had even used pains to excite the enthusiasm of the common people. On the present occasion, when fairly in the field, they were quite as active in maintaining military fervour among the troops, as they had

previously been in fomenting the zeal of abstract piety. They bore their share in all the fatigues of watching; often slept, like the common soldiers, upon the bare ground, in their boots and cloaks; and in all intercourse with their inferiors, even upon parade, they used the language of friendship rather than of command. They carried this system into such minutiae, as even to wear the same sort of bonnets with the private men—those flat blue caps which have been already mentioned, with large bunches of blue ribbon on the top, or at the side; a ludicrous piece of attire, which afterwards, on being seen by the English, caused them to be designated by the epithet of “blue-capped Jockies.”²³

The ministers, as a matter of course, attended the camp in great numbers, carrying arms like the rest, and some of them even leading little parties of their friends and dependents. Every morning and evening there were sermons throughout the camp, to which the soldiers were called by tuck of drum; and these religious exercises, upon the principle just alluded to, were attended by the noblemen and principal officers as well as by the private men. Throughout the whole day, there was a perpetual sound of prayer, or psalm-singing, or reading of scripture, in the tents of the soldiery; and although Baillie confesses that there was also some cursing and brawling, we have the testimony of the royal spies, that “the vices most rampant in other camps” were in this almost totally unknown. The general tone of the army was one of devout feeling towards God, and confident hope against their enemies. “They felt,” to use the beautiful language of Baillie, “the favour of God shining upon them, and a sweet,

meek, humble, yet strong and vehement spirit leading them all along."

The supplies necessary for the sustenance of their physical strength, were not less copious than those which kept alive their mental enthusiasm. The fertile plains of East Lothian and the Merse had fortunately produced, the preceding year, a crop of extraordinary abundance. The men fared constantly on wheaten bread, a luxury to this day rare among people of their rank in Scotland. As the immense sheep-walk of Lammermuir lay close at their backs, they had mutton both in great plenty and at little cost; the ordinary price of a leg of lamb being only fourpence, although the season of that dainty was as yet but little advanced. Their daily pay was sixpence, for the supply of which certain preachers were constantly employed at Edinburgh in prompting the rich citizens "to shake out their purses,"²⁴ while many of the noblemen and gentlemen voluntarily supported their men at their own expense.²⁵ Thus, better fed than at home, and perhaps also better paid, the Covenanting soldiery may be supposed to have maintained no small degree of spirit in their new employment, even putting their religious fervour entirely out of view.²⁶

The condition of the royal camp was very different. Owing to some inexplicable error in management, they very soon ran short of provisions; so that, in the course of a few days after encamping at the Birks, they could only prevent starvation by bribing the Scottish peasantry with large sums of money, to bring them a small share of those commodities which they supplied in such profusion, and at such moderate prices, to their own countrymen. The men took this as a proper occasion for

expressing their dissatisfaction with the campaign; and the king soon perceived that his army was universally inferior in physical, as well as moral energy, to the troops of the enemy.

The whole and sole object of the two armies, at this period, seems to have been, not to come to actual collision, but to try which should soonest frighten the other into a capitulation. As yet, both the king and the Covenanters regarded with a sort of horror, and mutually wished to avoid, that unnatural struggle which, to use an expressive phrase of Laud's, was eventually to bathe the nation in its own blood. The king only wished to awe his Scottish subjects into obedience; and the Covenanters only aimed at bringing his majesty to reason on the subject of their national grievances. From the time, therefore, when the Scots army agreed, at Dunglass, to keep ten miles away from the Border, till the final pacification of the 18th of June, the whole proceedings of both parties were just a series of alternate threats and submissions, a complete farce of warlike and diplomatic coquetry.

Thus, it will be observed, the king was proud and confident so long as the Covenanters were only collecting at Edinburgh. When they advanced to Dunglass, he found it necessary to deprecate their wrath by a mild proclamation. Seeing them submit to his orders, and remain for a few days where they were, his confidence revived, and he sent a warlike force into Scotland, to publish an earlier and more severe proclamation. On this invasion being successfully repelled, his spirits again sunk, and he is found (in a letter dated June 4th) commanding the Marquis of Hamilton to leave his fleet in the Frith of Forth, and come to the camp, to assist in a negotiation. Next day, on perceiving the

Scottish army take so decisive a step as to advance within six miles, and encamp in his sight, he appears to have been reduced still nearer to the point of capitulation.

As there yet, however, remained to him the hope, that by delay he might weary out the Scottish army, or at least wear the fire-edge off their spirits, we find him, during the next few days, still apparently resolved to hold out. It was then only necessary for the Scots to make another advance, or, in other words, to give him another fright, in order to drive him from that last of all his positions. They were fortunately enabled to do so with confidence, by the additions which were now daily making to their numbers.²⁸

About the 7th of June, when the army on Dunse Law was increased to nearly twenty-four thousand men, the leaders at length thought it proper to take decisive measures for frightening the king into terms. Having accordingly given out hints of their intention to advance upon the royal camp, they one night caused an unusual number of lights to be kindled on the Law, and the drums to be beat in such a manner as to indicate a march. The English, at once alarmed by two of their senses, were immediately thrown into a state of confusion and dismay not to be conceived. Many actually took to their heels; and had it not been for the united efforts of the king and the Earl of Arundel, it seems probable that the whole army would soon have been in full retreat into England, leaving the Covenanters to settle their grievances as they pleased. In consequence of this disgraceful alarm, Charles thought proper to fortify his camp, by throwing up trenches on the opposite or Scottish side of the river, in the direction from which the

attack of the Covenanters was apprehended; and such was the anxiety of the soldiers to be thus protected, that they wrought on Sunday, as well as on secular days, till the works were completed.

The result was precisely as the Covenanters had anticipated. They immediately received a visit from an old Scottish page (named Robin Leslie,) who hinted to them, as his private opinion, that the king would now, probably, be found willing to listen to their supplications; Charles having, it seems, found it necessary to take this strange method of commencing a negotiation, because any more dignified ambassador would have committed him as guilty of making the first advances to the insurgents; a compromise of his honour which personal pride and the necessity of sustaining the royal character he was invested with, alike prevented him from hazarding. The Covenanters acted upon the hint with a delicacy which showed the strong respect they still entertained for their sovereign. They dispatched the young Earl of Dunfermline, a nobleman who was not as yet obnoxious to him, with a short supplication, in which they begged that he would be graciously pleased to appoint six commissioners, who might meet the same number from them, to debate upon and adjust the unhappy misunderstanding which had so long subsisted between him and his native subjects.

It might have been expected that Charles would receive with facility and thankfulness an overture which he had been obliged to solicit. Quite the contrary was the case. Their obedience once more restored him to confidence and pride; and he refused to commence a negotiation, till they should listen to the proclamation which Hamilton had in vain endeavoured to publish at Edinburgh. No-

thing could be a better comment on the classical maxim, that we are naturally inclined to fly the pursuer and chase the fugitive; nor could any circumstance be cited, more exquisitely illustrative of the disingenuousness which characterised all the actions of this otherwise amiable monarch. Sir Edward Verney was sent to the Scottish camp, with the Earl of Dunfermline, to see that they gave respect to his command, by reading the proclamation to the troops.

The Covenanters refused to offend or taint the minds of their soldiery with so odious a document; but, to obviate the royal scruples, they condescended to read it in their private council; and with this partial obedience Charles professed to be content. He then appointed a day when six commissioners might come from the Scottish army and meet six commissioners from himself, in the tent of the Earl of Arundel. Some intermediate demur arose, on account of the Scots requiring the king's own signature to his letter, instead of his secretary's, as a sort of safe-conduct; but the meeting at length took place on Tuesday the 11th of June.

The commissioners appointed by the Scots were chiefly those individuals who had acted the most conspicuous part in the civil affairs of the Covenant; Rothés, Loudon, Dunfermline, Sir William Douglas of Cavers, (sheriff of Teviotdale,) the Reverend Mr Henderson, and Mr Archibald Johnston. The English commissioners were, the Earls of Arundel, Essex, Holland, Salisbury, and Berkshire, with Mr Secretary Cook. When it was known, early in the forenoon of the day appointed, that the Scottish commissioners were approaching the English camp, the Earl of Arundel, with

his brethren in commission, who had previously assembled in his tent, walked forward about twenty paces to salute them. After all had been placed in the room appropriated for their use, a guard was mounted upon the tent, consisting of the general's own troops of horse and foot, and a number of volunteer gentlemen who trailed pikes in his regiment; and especial care was taken that nobody should approach within the circle described by the cords, or so near as to overhear the debates. The whole commissioners had seated themselves round a long table, and were about to commence business, when a most singular and unexpected circumstance took place. The king himself suddenly entered the tent, and, without paying any attention to the Scots, who happened to sit with their backs to the door, and who did not perceive him when he entered, walked up to the head of the table and assumed a chair. When the Scots saw him, they stood up, like the rest of the noblemen and gentlemen present; but they were taken so much by surprise, or rather, the whole affair was so informal, that they did not attempt to kneel to him, as they might otherwise have done; nor did the king seem to expect any obeisance from them. The Earl of Rothes made an attempt, as he passed, to seize and kiss his hand, but without success.²⁹ When seated, his majesty gave an order that all who were not commissioners should leave the room, on which, the lords in waiting, together with the Marquis of Hamilton, who had just come to the camp, respectfully retired. His majesty then addressed the commissioners in a short speech, to the effect, that he would not have now intruded upon their councils, but to refute a slander which had been circulated regarding him—that he was

unwilling to listen personally to the complaints of his subjects ; and he desired the Scottish commissioners to inform him of the demands of their countrymen. The Earl of Rothes, in a low and respectful tone of voice, answered, that the Scottish people desired nothing further than to be secured in their religion and liberties. The Earl of Loudon, in bolder phrase, proceeded to explain and vindicate their proceedings. But Charles abruptly told them that he was not come to listen to verbal excuses for past misconduct, but that he would willingly give ear to any grievances which they might represent on paper.

To shorten as much as possible diplomatic detail, which is to be found at length in more voluminous publications,³⁰ it may here be briefly stated that, in the course of three successive meetings of the commissioners, which took place in presence of the king, before the end of the week, the Scots demanded of him that the acts of the Glasgow Assembly should be ratified ; (and Episcopacy thus abolished ;) that hereafter all ecclesiastical matters should be determined by similar assemblies, and all civil matters by parliament, which should be held once at least every three years ; that the royal army and navy should be withdrawn from the frontiers and coast of the kingdom ; that all persons and goods belonging to Scotland, which the king had arrested, should be restored ; that the country should henceforth be assured against invasion ; and that all incendiaries who had occasioned these commotions by their evil counsels, (namely, the bishops and chief loyalists,) should be delivered into their hands, to be dealt with according to their deserts. The king, as might be expected, did not look graciously upon these de-

mands ; the concession of which would have placed Scotland altogether independent of his authority ; and, as he still hoped, by delay, to weaken the Covenanting army, or to find an opportunity of fighting it to advantage, he returned an answer calculated, as he thought, to humble their imperiousness, and at the same time perplex their councils. They were not, however, to be shaken from their purpose by mere words, but openly issued orders, which were of course conveyed immediately to the royal ear, commanding the army to advance from Dunse Law to a spot within cannon-range of the English camp. The result was, that Charles, at the next meeting, assented to the substance of their demands, and drew up a declaration in their favour, upon which a treaty of pacification was immediately built.

The terms granted by Charles were not such as the Covenanters either wished, or perhaps could have forced from him ; but they were certainly all that they could expect him to grant, consistently with the preservation of his monarchical dignity and authority, and as such they seem to have been content with them. He did not sanction the Glasgow Assembly, as that would have evidently implied a resignation on his part of every thing like prerogative, nor did he make any promise regarding the settlement of religion ; but, as if for the purpose of going over the ground *with* them, which they had recently gone over *without* him, and thus giving things a fair chance of going right, he appointed another General Assembly to be held on the ensuing 6th of August, and a parliament to be held on the 20th, in which all debateable matters of church and state might finally and fairly be settled. The king was thus saved the dishonour of

accessing to an illegal assembly, while the Covenanters were pleased with the prospect of getting the royal sanction to their former acts. Charles's secret hope was to raise, before the time, a party which should maintain Episcopacy; and the Covenanters felt secretly assured, that they should now as effectually resist it as ever. Both parties knew that, as a last resource, they had only once more to take up arms, and resume the attitude which they were now abandoning.

Upon this basis a peace was concluded, (June 18,) and proclaimed in both camps. Both armies were immediately afterwards disbanded, and the Scots resigned into the hands of the king's servants all the castles which they had taken, together with the fortifications of Leith, while Charles, at the same time, withdrew his navy. It was easy to see that neither party was sincere in its concessions, but only considered the treaty as a sort of postponement,—not a conclusion of hostilities. Yet the sound of the word peace was gratifying to the people of both nations, however insecure its continuance.³¹

CHAPTER X.

WINTER OF 1639-40.

No other alteration will satisfy ; nor this neither very long, without
an utter abolition of all order. South.

ALTHOUGH the period betwixt the pacification and the meeting of the Assembly was less than two months, it did not elapse without seeing the King and Covenanters mutually accuse each other of non-observance of the treaty. The Covenanters did not entirely dissolve their army, but billeted many parties of their troops throughout the country, and retained all the foreign adventurers in their pay. They did not raze the fortifications of Leith, as they had agreed to do, but only destroyed as much as they could have easily repaired in a few hours. On the other hand, the king strengthened the frontier forts of Berwick and Carlisle, introduced stores into Edinburgh castle of a nature calculated for offence as well as defence, and in many other ways showed an intention of recommencing hostilities against Scotland with the first opportunity.

There were other symptoms of mutual mistrust, less important perhaps to appearance, but which indicated with equal clearness the hollow nature of the truce. Thus, the Covenanters took

every opportunity of annoying and persecuting the Episcopalians and loyalists who returned to their native country, or who ventured to appear in public. The mob of Edinburgh, one day observing a coach pass down their principal street, which they supposed to contain the Viscount Aboyne, and conceiving that that young nobleman took this method of openly expressing his contempt for them, attacked the vehicle, stopped, overturned, and finally broke it. It happened, instead of the person they expected, to contain the Earl of Traquair, with some other officers of state. However, as they bore no good-will to that nobleman, on account of his present open adherence to the king, they proceeded to bestow the abuse upon him which they had intended for another. He was violently hauled forth from the coach, beat almost to death by the fists of the "devout women," and, finally, as a mark of condign ignominy, they broke the white wand of office which was carried before him by his servant. On getting himself extricated from their hands, he applied to the magistrates of the city for redress; but the only solatium he got from that quarter was a present of a new white stick; which occasioned the cavalier wits to remark that they seemed to value the affront put upon majesty in Traquair's person at only sixpence.¹

The king soon after met with an affront which concerned him as much personally as this concerned him by deputy. It being evident to him that, but for the nobility, the common people would be of no avail against him, he resolved to try by all means to gain over these influential individuals to his own side. One of the plans which he marked out for this purpose, was to work upon

them by his own personal eloquence, or by the grace which he supposed to be inherent in him as a sovereign. Having, therefore, established his court at Berwick, he sent letters to fourteen different individuals who had distinguished themselves in the late troubles, requesting them to attend him, in order to assist him with their counsels in determining some measures which he designed to enter into for the good of their country. The Covenanters, at once taking the alarm, sent only three of the number required, Montrose, Loudon, and Lothian, with an apology for the rest. Charles immediately commanded those who came, to write back to Edinburgh for those who had remained. They did so, and the other eleven made a show of obeying the summons; but the mob was in secret prepared to interfere and prevent their journey. As they were mounting their horses at the Watergate, in the suburbs, preparatory to departure, a multitude of the lower ranks surrounded them, and, exclaiming that the king wished either to assassinate or imprison them, by main force compelled them to remain at home. Charles was excessively offended at their disobedience; but, as he could show no distinct reasons for requesting the attendance of so many persons, he was obliged, in a great measure, to smother his resentment. Out of the three who did wait upon him, he succeeded in converting only one—the hitherto zealous Montrose—who seems to have been too ambitious a man to have at any period of his life entertained inflexible principle.²

When the day approached for the meeting of the General Assembly, Charles saw it necessary, from the disturbed state of the kingdom, to change an intention which he had avowed at the negotiation of the treaty, of presiding over it in person. He de-

terminated upon sending a commissioner; and he proposed the high office to Hamilton, whose previous conduct in that capacity had gained the esteem of all parties, except some of the ultra cavaliers. Hamilton declined it, from a sense of its difficulty, and a wish to be no more embroiled in these troubles; naming, however, the Earl of Traquair as an eligible substitute. The king had been so much offended with Traquair, on account of his known intrigues with the Covenanters, and his surrender of Dalkeith, as to have put him under arrest for some time during the by-past spring; but the pommeling he had lately received from the pious ladies of Edinburgh was a redeeming circumstance; and he now determined on intrusting him with this high and delicate office.

The instructions which he drew up for the use of his representative display strong symptoms of that peculiar jesuitism, or casuistry, with which his character is so constantly charged by the whig historians. Foreseeing the impossibility of saving Episcopacy, and anxious to leave the Scots no reason connected with religion for again taking up arms, he commands that his commissioner shall abandon the obnoxious form of worship with as good a grace as possible; secretly receiving, however, a protest from the bishops against the act, and also making a reservation of power to the king to express his dissatisfaction with it; so that, at some future and more convenient opportunity, he might come forward, and, alleging the act to be illegal, set up the Episcopal government as one which had never been properly or formally renounced. It is the more certain he entertained these views, as he addressed letters to the prelates assuring them that his compliance with their enemies was only

a temporary measure, which he condescended to for convenience, and that he would never be satisfied till he had restored the hierarchy in all its branches.

The Assembly met at Edinburgh on the 6th of August, and having chosen Mr David Dickson for moderator, immediately proceeded to the great business of determining the future professed religion of Scotland. It was easy from the first to foresee the result of this question, but more especially since the election of the members; for, with an unfairness which almost throws the chicanery of the king into shade, the Covenanters had used their enormous power in the country to prevent any from being chosen except those who had subscribed their bond, and voted on their side in the Glasgow Assembly. Some delicacy in externals, however, was shown to the king. In respect of his known prejudices, no allusion was made to the Glasgow Assembly. In condemning Episcopacy, no expressions were used which could bring it into contempt among the English. It was only shown by reference to the records of the Assembly, to be totally inconsistent with the constitution of the Scottish Church. The act for its abolition was thrown into a similarly delicate shape. It was stated in the preamble, that there had been for some years great divisions and troubles in the church. It was inquired, what had occasioned these divisions and troubles. The answer was, the Articles of Perth, the Book of Canons, and the Liturgy, together with the temporal power and superior rank allowed to certain of the clergy. It was therefore declared expedient that all these things should be abrogated. To the act prepared in this manner, Traquair without hesitation put

his hand. He even consented, contrary to their expectation, to sign the Covenant, (only reserving a slight explication of the Bond of Defence in favour of the king,) and he also ordered that it should be signed by the rest of his majesty's council.

The Assembly rose on the 30th of August; and the establishment of Presbytery, by deputed sanction of royalty—an event so little to have been expected two years before—was celebrated by the people with bonfires, ringing of bells, and other demonstrations of national joy.

The affairs of the church thus settled, the parliament was next to be assembled for the consideration of those of the state. It sat down next day.³ For some time its proceedings were perplexed by the deficiency of the bishops, who, in the single parliamentary house peculiar to Scotland, had served as a third Estate. It was judiciously feared by the Covenanters, that the king might afterwards take occasion from this to declare the constitution of their body and all their acts unlawful; to obviate this, they framed an act, declaring the lesser barons to be substituted as the third Estate. As for the election of the committee called the Lords of the Articles, whose office it was to prepare all bills for discussion, and who had hitherto been always named by the prelates, it was conceded to the commissioner, though not without a protest, that it should afterwards be managed by the three assembled Estates for themselves. These points settled, they proceeded to business, and a great number of bills were prepared, of a nature calculated to restrain the king's prerogative, and render parliaments in a great measure independent of him, when, by an order from the king, the com-

missioner abruptly prorogued them to the 2d of June next year.

The members, with a spirit in which may be discerned the first dawn of modern liberty, declared the prorogation of parliament illegal without its own consent; but, to avoid giving real cause of offence to their sovereign, they resolved to obey his present order by rising. They contented themselves with dispatching a committee of their number to London, to remonstrate with his majesty, and to supplicate him for a revival of his commands.

Before the commissioners procured audience, Charles had determined in his council, with the advice of the Earl of Traquair, to renew the war. To justify his resolution in the eyes of the English nation, he set himself, by various publications, to prove, that the real object of the Covenanters was not, as they had always hitherto alleged, the security of their religion, but the overthrow of his government; and he instanced the various bills for the restriction of his prerogative, which had been introduced into the Scottish Parliament. As it was doubtful, however, that the people would sympathize very deeply with distresses which concerned only himself, he presented to them a still more obvious proof of Scotch sedition, in the shape of a scroll letter, signed by the chief Covenanters; which, being written in French, and addressed *Au Roi*, he presumed to be intended for the French king, and which, as it called upon that individual to interfere in their quarrel with him, he denounced as a proof of a treasonable correspondence between them and his enemies. To carry on the war which he meditated, he condescended to receive contributions of money from his councillors, from his officers

of state and of justice, and from all who considered their interests connected with his. These resources being eventually found insufficient, he was obliged at length to resort to the desperate expedient of calling a parliament. His parliament met on the 13th of April 1640, but being found to engage itself rather in inquiring into the national grievances than in providing supplies for the war, was soon after dissolved.

The Covenanters watched the progress of Charles's preparations with unceasing vigilance, and met all his appeals to his English subjects with counter-statements of their own innocent and patriotic intentions, which, as might have been expected, were more willingly listened to. It was in vain that he endeavoured to affix the stigma of sedition upon them. That charge, though it has been credited by his partizans in even modern times, was at once seen by the great bulk of the English people to be totally unfounded; and it was soon apparent that if, in the former war, there was a reluctance to fight against the Scots, there was now a decided party in their favour. A good deal of this favourable impression is ascribed by historians to the activity of the commissioners sent by the Scottish Parliament to treat with the king, and to the preachings of the Presbyterian clergymen who accompanied them as chaplains.

CHAPTER XI.

CAMPAIGN OF 1640.

Their arms are to the last decision bent,
And fortune labours with the vast event.
DRYDEN.

THE period under review—the winter of 1639, 1640—is a remarkable era in the history of the civil war, inasmuch as the quarrel between the king and his Scottish subjects then began to change the pacific complexion which it had hitherto borne, for one of a decidedly warlike character. The demon of war, which had arisen in the preceding spring, was very easily dismissed from the scene ; but, being again invoked, we are now to see him, like the imaginary devil of the sorcerers, refuse to vanish without a sacrifice of blood. Both parties may now, for the first time, be said to have lost temper ; the king resolving to endeavour, by all possible means, to revenge the insults and aggressions of the Covenanters ; while they, on the other hand, seem to forget the objects for which they first took up arms, and, provoked by opportunity or fear of a reaction, press upon the royal power, till they sink it below its proper level in the constitution.

When the whole affair is contemplated without feelings of partizanship, it is not easy to see, on

either side, the great merit, or the great demerit, which its respective friends or enemies have ascribed to it. Both acted from impulses perfectly natural. The king was naturally inclined to defend the privileges which he conceived unalienably his ; which he had received from his fathers, and which he wished to hand down to his children. If he was obstinate in resisting, or mean in eluding, the attacks of his enemies, he only did what nine men in ten would do, if pressed, as he was, by distresses more than they could well bear. In estimating, moreover, his motives for going to war with his subjects, it ought to be kept in mind, that, besides consulting his feelings of revenge as a man, he perhaps judged, as a king, that such a course was necessary for the salvation of the state. The Covenanters, on the other hand, had equally natural and justifiable reasons for battling against him ; first, their wish to preserve a favourite system of worship, and maintain unimpaired certain honours and pieces of property ; finally, the necessity of protecting themselves from the vengeance of the king, or rather from incapacitating him from exercising that vengeance. When it is once clear that neither party was criminal at the commencement of the quarrel, it follows that neither was criminal, generally or particularly, throughout its continuance. Both only acted according to a train of circumstances which they had been mutually instrumental in giving rise to, and which were then altogether uncontrollable by either. All that can properly be said regarding the moral merits of the disputants, is, that the representatives of both, in the present day, ought to take a lesson of moderation from the violence of their respective ancestors : the advocates of high measures in church

and state ought to learn from Charles and his counsellors the necessity of giving way, gracefully and gradually, to the spirit of the times, ere the wishes of the subjects are converted into threats; and their opponents should be equally aware, from the result of the civil war, that to demand too much, and that too violently, only sends friends to the ranks of the opposite party, and renders the struggle for amelioration more bloody in its progress and less certain in its result.

During the spring of 1640, although no army was embodied on either side, both parties busied themselves in hostilities. The king seized all the Scottish vessels which came within his power, imprisoned and threatened some of the Scottish commissioners, and permitted his castle of Edinburgh to annoy the citizens. The Covenanters elected Leslie once more their generalissimo—laid siege to Edinburgh castle—seized some smaller forts—and sent parties throughout the country to subdue the recusant loyalists by force of arms.

The election of Leslie took place in April, when inferior officers were also appointed to the army; Sir James Livingston, (afterwards Lord Almond,) a distinguished foreign adventurer, to be lieutenant-general—Baillie, of the family of Lamington, to be major-general of the foot—Gibson, younger of Durie, to be commissary-general—and the principal noblemen and gentlemen who had formerly commanded regiments, to the same rank, with the like judicious mixture of mercenaries among the subalterns as formerly. It was matter of surprise to the royalists, that, on this occasion, Montrose and others, whose attachment was suspected, should have been retained in command; but that was, in reality, a piece of policy on the part of the

Covenanters. They apprehended, that to cashier these persons would make them at once declare for the king; whereas, by keeping them in the army, they were compelled to act in concert, and at the same time were more closely watched than they could have been anywhere else.

Actual hostilities were first commenced in the capital of the kingdom. It has been already mentioned, that the king, immediately after the surrender of the forts at the pacification of Berwick, took great pains to fortify and provision them, in the prospect of war soon recommencing. He took particular pains with the castle of Edinburgh, which was at once the strongest in the kingdom, and the most important, in so far as it commanded the capital. The Covenanters viewed his proceedings with ill-suppressed apprehensions, and were only prevented from putting a stop to them by the fear of thereby precipitating hostilities. As may easily be supposed, no good-will existed between them and the garrison. On the contrary, they were exasperated to the highest degree against each other; the garrison complaining that the Covenanters endeavoured by all the insidious means possible to embarrass them; and the Covenanters, on the other hand, exclaiming against the insolent menaces with which they were treated by the garrison. On the 19th of November, 1639, (the king's birth day,) a large portion of the principal wall of the castle happening to fall, the Covenanters not only openly rejoiced in the circumstance, as an evil omen to the royal cause, but refused to permit the citizens of Edinburgh to provide the materials required for repairing the breach; which the garrison were therefore obliged to cobble up with wooden stakes. In the ensuing February,

another cause of mutual wrath took place. The king, probably for the purpose of trying the temper of his Scottish subjects, or perhaps to provoke them to resistance, so that he might make them appear rebellious in the eyes of the English, chose, some time during that month, to send a great reinforcement of men and ammunition by sea to Leith, with an order, commanding the citizens of Edinburgh to transport the same to the castle, under pain of treason. The Covenanting government saw the snare, and avoided it, by permitting the royal order to be executed; though not without conceiving additional hatred to their sovereign and his friends, while the castle garrison openly taunted them with threats of soon turning this fresh supply to account against them.

Pursuant to the order of prorogation at the conclusion of their last session, Parliament reassembled at Edinburgh on the 2d of June. The king, as was to be expected, had, a few days before, sent a letter to certain members of his privy council, empowering them to prorogue it again; but, Sir Thomas Hope persuading them that such an order was informal, they failed to execute it; and the Parliament, without a commissioner, and without the regalia, both of which were formerly supposed indispensable,—in direct opposition, moreover, to the order, or at least the known wishes of their sovereign—sat down and resolutely proceeded to exercise their ordinary functions. Their first act was to choose Lord Burleigh for their president; an office as anomalous in a Scottish parliament, as their sitting without the royal commission was inconsistent with the spirit of the constitution. They next proceeded to determine that the lesser barons should henceforth take place of the

bishops as the third estate; and thereafter they ratified in succession nearly forty acts in their own favour, which had been prepared at their last session. Finally, they resolved themselves into a committee, which should continue to sit after they had risen, and which should possess sovereign power over all matters connected with the state.

This committee, which was henceforth to reign paramount in Scotland, to the complete exclusion of the royal authority, consisted of forty individuals, part of whom were noblemen, part gentlemen, and part burgesses.¹ Seven were to be a quorum; and it has been remarked by the cavalier historians, that, while it was chiefly managed by a few of the first of these ranks, the burgesses generally constituted the quorum; so that, in case of royalty once more becoming triumphant, the whole blame might have been devolved on a few obscure individuals. Many of them were men of no political talent whatever, but were added, says Straloch, as ciphers to the few digital statesmen, merely for the purpose of making up a respectable number. Virtually, and to all intents and purposes, they were an oligarchy, deriving their power from no legitimate source, and exercising a much more arbitrary sway over the nation than Charles had ever done in his most imprudent days.

Before proceeding to the principal campaign of this year, it will be necessary to advert to two minor enterprises executed by the Covenanters at a somewhat earlier period; the expedition of Monro to Aberdeenshire, and that of the Earl of Argyre against the Highlanders.

Monro, the son of a gentleman of Ross-shire, and who had acquired great distinction in the wars of Gustavus Adolphus, was appointed commander-in-

chief of a portion of the Covenanting army which should remain in Scotland to check the loyalists, while the main body invaded England in prosecution of the main object of the war. He marched to Aberdeen about the end of May; (the Earl Marischal having previously gone thither and prepared the way for him, by levying an exaction of 6000 merks from the citizens, as their share of the expenses of the last year's campaign.) The inhabitants of this truly unfortunate city, conscious of having yielded but imperfect obedience to their Covenanting masters, beheld the approach of Monro, whose character was known to be brutal, with the utmost trepidation. It was not now possible, as formerly, for the obnoxious loyalists to escape by sea; for Marischal had taken care to strip the rigging off all the vessels which lay in the harbour. Neither could they convey any of their valuable property to places of security in the country; for the scarcity of horses and servants had been such during the last winter, on account of the former exactions and levies of the Covenanters, that they had been half-starved for want of their customary supplies of peat from the neighbouring mosses. As the town scarcely contained two hundred armed men, and the provincial loyalists were all busily engaged in fortifying their several country-houses, they knew they had no chance of successfully resisting Monro's force, which consisted of eight hundred foot³ and some horse, besides six pieces of iron ordnance.

The Covenanters, at their approach, sent to Aberdeen a series of articles, which they required the inhabitants to agree to, under pain of "being taken order with," and that in such a way "as would strike terror into the hearts of all other ene-

mies and false patriots." The demands made were at once insolent and exorbitant ; being scarcely any less than a complete surrender of the property of the town to their discretion ; yet the unhappy Aberdonians were obliged to comply. They even put such a constraint upon their natural feelings, as to go out to meet and welcome their invaders at the bridge of Dee. But nothing could bring a smile upon the sullen brows of these relentless crusaders, who, immediately after taking possession of the city, proceeded to make such exactions upon it, as almost reduced the inhabitants to despair. Upon the property of the cavaliers they were particularly severe, not only seizing what was of value, but destroying what could not be removed. Spalding, who witnessed this war against the domestic peace of the country, records with ludicrous pathos, as one of their unhallowed acts, that they " brak down the four glass windows of James Cruikshank's house ;" which four windows James, being a devout anti-covenanter, vowed never to repair till he saw better times.³

When they had satiated their rage against Aberdeen, they advanced through the neighbouring province, seized several castles, generally after a very slight resistance, and executed such vengeance upon all whom they could convict of not having subscribed the Covenant, or of having departed from its obligations, as was long after remembered by the people with feelings of anguish and horror.⁴ They finally returned to Edinburgh, leading captive a considerable number of the cavalier gentry.

The expedition undertaken by the Earl of Argyle against the Highlanders was characterised by still more unjustifiable instances of cruelty than even that of the brutal and mercenary Monro. This

nobleman was originally one of the king's privy councillors ; but, after having for some time acted the part of a mediator, he had finally joined the Covenanters at the Glasgow Assembly. He was a man of the highest talents, of the firmest and most consistent politics, and of the purest private life ; but it seems unquestionable that he was also a man whose heart never throbbed with a single generous or humane emotion. He was commissioned by the Committee of Estates to take with him his own clansmen (the Campbells), besides a considerable body of Lowland foot ; and, making a sweep through the disaffected parts of the Highlands, he was to reduce all and sundry to a compliance with the Covenant. His constituents, in granting this commission, are supposed to have acted under the impression that his acquaintance with the Highlands, and his Highland *following*, or retinue, fitted him peculiarly for the undertaking ; but, in forming their estimate of his qualifications, they either did not take into account, or willingly overlooked, the dangerous power which he thus acquired of gratifying his personal feelings of revenge and cupidity at their expense.

Argyle's sole object in the campaign seems to have been the indulgence of these feelings. His very first action was a notable instance in point. Attacking the castle of Airly in Forfarshire, which had been recently left by its proprietor the Earl of Airly, in possession of his eldest son the Lord Ogilvie, he soon succeeded in capturing it. The clan Campbell had had a feud with the Ogilvies for several centuries ; and the Airly estate lay on one side of the river Isla, while that of the Earl of Argyle lay on the other. For these reasons, the Covenantee general, who wished to become pro-

prietor of both estates, immediately yielded up the Airly lands to indiscriminate pillage ; which doom was so heartily executed upon them by his rapacious followers, that, if we are to believe Straloch, scarcely any thing remained behind but the bare ground. Fire was at the same time set to the castle, being the *first* instance of that species of military execution which had occurred during the whole course of the civil war ; and such was the personal anxiety of Argyle to see this hated fortress utterly overthrown, that he himself took up a hammer and assisted in the demolition of the doorways, and hewed stone-work, which were spared by the flames, till he was overcome with fatigue.

He next reduced and pillaged a minor seat of the Airly family, called Forthar, which had latterly been the particular residence of the Lord Ogilvie. Here he exemplified his inhumanity in as striking a manner as he had just displayed his revenge. It was one of the necessary consequences of his capture of Forthar, that the Lady Ogilvie was expelled from it. It happened that this gentlewoman was at the time advanced near to the period of her pregnancy. To render her situation the more dreadful, none of her neighbours could venture to receive her into their houses, on account of the penalties which had been denounced against all who should harbour such odious persons. Even her grandmother, the dowager Lady Drum, though related to Argyle, dared not venture to receive her, till she had previously asked his permission. Strange to tell, that permission was refused ; and it was only when the old lady's fear for her grand-daughter's life overcame her terror of Argyle, that she ventured upon

the hazardous, though unavoidable step, of giving her the shelter she so imminently required.

In destroying Airly and Fortbar, Argyle might have been actuated by public motives, as they were fortified houses, which, in the hands of their proprietors, could have been turned to the disadvantage of the popular cause. To prove, however, that he was chiefly instigated by personal motives, it is only necessary to mention another of the deeds which he committed during this campaign. Sir John Ogilvie of Craig, cousin to the Earl of Airly, possessed a house in the neighbourhood, which, as it was only a private mansion, and totally unfortified, evidently lay beyond the commission of the spoiler. Argyle, however, happening to have a quarrel at issue with Sir John, thought it would be as good to extend the same honour to him which he had just bestowed upon his noble cousin and chief. He dispatched a sergeant with a party, with orders to attack and demolish the house of Craig. The man went as he was desired; but when he came up to the front of the edifice, and perceived its totally innocuous character, he naturally paused before proceeding to execution, thinking that either his master must have been misinformed, or that he had marched up to the wrong house. To solve the mystery, he returned to head-quarters, and, describing to his commander the real appearance of the house of Craig, hinted a supposition that there was no necessity "for casting it down." To his surprise, Argyle fell into a dreadful passion, and, telling him that it was only his part to obey orders, sent him back to fulfil his original errand. As his lordship turned away from the man, he was heard by some gentlemen who stood near him to utter, with a peculiar

bitterness of expression, a Latin proverb, which is said to have been a favourite with him—"Ab-scindantur qui nos perturbant."⁵

Advancing into the Highlands, Argyle is next found at the ford over the river Lyon, near Kenmore, in Breadalbane, where the Earl of Athole, a devoted loyalist, lay with retainers to the amount of twelve hundred, prepared to oppose his further progress. As the Covenanting force amounted to five thousand, and was probably much better officered, he might have easily forced the pass. But bravery was not among the virtues of Argyle, and he preferred attempting their reduction by means more agreeable to his peculiar character. Inviting the Earl of Athole and a few of his friends to a private conference at his own tent, with the promise of safe access and recess, he planted an ambuscade, which seized the unfortunate nobleman, with his party, as they were approaching. Having thus "kept the word of promise to the ear, but broken it to the sense," he used threats to compel the captured chiefs to order the dismissal of their men; and he then sent the whole, under safe custody, to be imprisoned by the Committee of Estates at Edinburgh.

He next assailed the central Highlands, where the great clan Macdonald had hitherto yielded but an imperfect homage to the Covenant. The Macdonalds were the ancient, and, not without cause, the bitter enemies of the Campbells; and many of them held their lands from, and were under the protection of, his great rival chief, the Marquis of Huntly. As might therefore have been expected, he took no gentle measures for bringing them under obedience to the new government of Scotland. There was still another reason that he

should treat this clan with rigour. He had, some time during the preceding year, become cautionary security upon Huntly's estates for the payment of his debts ; and he now hoped, by provoking the tenants to acts of rebellion, to acquire a still more certain right of property over them. To fulfil his base designs, he did not scruple to employ certain broken men of the clan Cameron, who had taken the Covenant, to annoy and irritate the Macdonalds ; and thus it was possible to see men who had been guilty of every imaginable crime, murder not excepted, patronized and cherished as Covenanters, while others of the most honourable spirit, and to whom no moral fault whatever could be imputed, were denounced and persecuted, for merely scrupling to sign a bond which was not agreeable to their consciences.

After a crusade against the Macdonalds, during which he burnt the house of Keppoch, the residence of one of their chieftains, the Covenanting general overran Badenoch, a district which afforded shelter to a number of robbers, and finally descended into the Lowlands by Aberdeen.

Ere these lesser enterprises were brought to a conclusion, the main body of the Covenanting army were ready to commence the campaign. There was to be a most remarkable difference between the enterprise of this year and that which had terminated so peaceably during the last at Berwick. The Scots had received strong assurances from various of the English Puritans, and in particular, a letter signed by six noblemen, promising that if they would invade England, and endeavour to distress the king more immediately than they had hitherto done, they should be countenanced and supported by a powerful party of the English ; all that was re-

quired being, that they should first appear in arms. With this assurance, and further fortified by their own confident enthusiasm, it was resolved by the Committee of Estates, that the army should invade the neighbouring kingdom, and thus, as it were, carry the fire of war into the very camp of the enemy. As for the people, who, in the quality of soldiers, were to carry the resolution into effect, they were easily induced to see the advantages of the proposal; because they were not only disposed to listen respectfully to whatever was told them by their new rulers, but their national pride was interested in the idea of a foray into England, and their grosser appetites inflamed by the prospects which such an expedition held out.

The army began to assemble, on the 13th of July, at Dunglass; and about the end of the month, when all had been collected, it was marched to Choicelee or Chouseley wood, a convenient station, three or four miles west from Dunse, and little more from the Borders. The committee had published two different papers, one entitled their "Declaration," and another styled their "Intentions," the purpose of which was to announce to the English people, that, on account of the king's having interrupted their commerce, and taken other severe measures against them, they found it absolutely necessary to enter the neighbouring kingdom with arms in their hands, that they might penetrate through the band of evil councillors which surrounded their sovereign, and beg permission to pour their grievances into his own royal ear. They disclaimed all the motives imputed to them by their enemies, and specified, that, although obliged to intrude upon the English territory, they had no hostile intention against the country, but should,

during the whole of their march, abstain most scrupulously from injuring either individuals or their property. They promised to pay or give reasonable security for all the necessaries they should require, and to conduct themselves in all respects rather as a body of ordinary inoffensive travellers than as an army.

The campaign was necessarily commenced late in the season ; for the leaders of the Covenant had thought it advisable to wait till the meeting of parliament in June before avowing hostile intentions. Soon after they had assembled their force at Choiselee, a farther delay took place on account of their deficiency in money. An act had been passed in parliament for levying the tenth penny upon all rents, and the twentieth upon all interest ; but it was found unexpectedly difficult of collection ; and after the army was ready to march, it seemed likely to be dissolved for want of pay. The chief men showed no hesitation in offering to borrow for the public good upon their own personal bonds ; but such was the difficulty they found in obtaining loans by this means, that one lord is recorded to have been unable to procure credit for more than L.250. Eventually, it was discovered that no method of exaction was so effectual in this poor but pious country, as the simple one of working upon the hearts of the people from the pulpit. However strange it may appear, it is actually true, that one day's preaching at Edinburgh, by one man, was sufficient to provide the army with tents ; the women being so wrought upon by it, as to contribute the next day enough of the stuff called *harden*, or sheeting, to make a marquee of eight ells for every four soldiers.⁶ The nation at large gave in their plate with equal readiness,

and in quantities equally astonishing ; insomuch that although Scotland had never before been ill-provided in that expensive commodity, it was now so completely exhausted, or was so effectually concealed to avoid similar contributions, that for several years afterwards scarcely even a silver spoon was to be seen in the best houses.⁷

During the period when the army lay inactive at Choicelee, Leslie, who was now styled "His Excellence," held a grand muster and review ; when the troops were found to amount to about twenty-two thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse. The foot were the same sturdy rustics who had lain last year upon Dunse Law. The horse were chiefly composed of respectable citizens and country gentlemen, were lightly armed, some of them having lances, and generally mounted on the small but active horses of the country. The whole of the foot, including the noblemen and inferior commanders, wore, as they did last year, broad Lowland blue bonnets ; the transit of which over the Border was afterwards to become a favourite theme of national song. They also carried, as formerly, blue ribbons round their necks, or composed in bunches at their ears, as the distinguishing badge of their party. The army was under the charge of a body termed the War Committee, being a selection from the Committee of Estates.

Money having at length been procured to the amount of about an hundred thousand pounds, besides a considerable train-attendant of black cattle and sheep, to be used as provisions on the march, the army moved, on the 17th of August, from Choicelee towards Coldstream, where they intended to enter England by a well-known ford over the Tweed. The river happening to be considerably

swollen, they were obliged to pause on the spacious plain of Hirselhaugh, till it should subside; and here they erected for the first time the tents which had been so kindly provided to them by the ladies of Edinburgh.⁸ On the 20th, the waters having fallen to a moderate depth, they finally determined to cross into England. Yet it was not without some hesitation, that they took this decisive step. It would almost appear that, although they had previously screwed up their courage to the necessary pitch, and although they were almost assured of victory over the slender and disaffected forces of the king, they could not now make that actual aggression upon him, which he had declared should subject them to the stigma of treason, without feeling the revival of some portion of the natural awe which subjects must always, in a lesser or greater degree, entertain for the name and attributes of a monarch. It is at least certain, that no commander thought proper to volunteer taking the first place in crossing the river, but that it was found necessary to determine that important point by an appeal to the dice.

The lot fell to Montrose, who, to allay the suspicions which he saw were on the point of breaking out against him, at once, with an air of the highest resolution, plunged into the stream, and by himself waded through to the other side. He then returned to encourage his men; and, a line of horse being planted all the way through, to break the force of the stream, the foot passed easily and safely, with the water up to their middles; only one man being drowned, out of the whole army. All the crowners waded through, like Montrose, at the heads of their respective regiments, except two or three, who commanded the horse employed to break the water.

The army began to pass at four in the afternoon, and was not altogether through till near midnight.

They encamped that night on Cornhill Hill, where, before their approach, a troop of English horse had been stationed to guard the ford. "During the night," says one of them, who has recorded the particulars of the march in very glowing language,⁹ "there were fyres erectit upon beacons in advance of the camp, like so many heraulds proclaiming our crossing of the river, or rather like so many prodigious comets foretelling the fall of this ensuing storm upon our enemies in England. These fyres," he continues, "so terrified the countrie people, that they all fled, with bag and baggage, towards the south parts of the country, leaving their desolate houses to the mercie of the armie."

On the same day that the Scots thus crossed the Tweed, Charles left London to put himself at the head of the army. He had, as already mentioned, called an English parliament on the 13th of April, in the expectation of procuring a subsidy for the maintenance of the war. On their disappointing him in that hope, he had suddenly dissolved them, and thereby added to the discontent of the nation. He then procured some supplies from a convocation of the national clergy, which was then sitting, with Laud at its head. He afterwards set a subscription on foot amongst the well-affected portion of the upper ranks of the community; yet even by that desperate and humiliating expedient he had not procured a sufficiency. In his distress, he had seized the bullion belonging to the Spanish merchants in the town, as also a large quantity of pepper belonging to the East India Company, which he sold to the public at an inferior price.¹⁰ After all his endeavours, he had been able to raise

but a very small sum. Nor were his levies of men more successful than his attempts to procure money. His army was rendezvoused at York; and the clergy, who felt so strong an interest in the war, had done all they could to increase it. Yet the utmost amount it ever reached was seventeen thousand; that is to say, only about three fourths of the number of the enemy. It was nominally commanded by the Earl of Northumberland, a nobleman of inoffensive politics, but its real leader was the detested Strafford, who bore the inferior title of lieutenant-general; Lord Conway, an officer of some military experience, being general of the horse. The great mass of the soldiers were disinclined in the highest degree to the war; inso-much that various parties of them mutinied against their officers; one of whom, at least, was killed by them, on suspicion of being a Papist.

The Scottish army began its march from Cornhill, on Friday the 21st of August, directing its course towards Newcastle. After a day's march through the forsaken district above mentioned, it encamped at night upon a spacious moor called Milfield Race; "where," says the writer just quoted, "all that night the Lady Cynthia, with her twinkling attendants, did so beautify the face of the sky, that it gave us as great pleasure to walk^u as to sleep." On the 22d, they proceeded to the river Glen, where they were joined by about seven thousand of their forces, who had entered England by Kelso. The whole marched forward that night to a delightful plain called Middleton Haugh; where the strong rich grass peculiar to merry England afforded matter of surprise to the men, and infinite refreshment and solace to the weary baggage-horses and cattle.

Before the dawn of Tuesday the 23d, a party of horse from the garrison of Berwick, expecting perhaps to find the pious soldiers of the Covenant secure in the sanctity of the day, made an attack upon the camp, and seized some of the baggage which was stationed in the rear. But the Scottish sentries immediately gave the alarm, and Baillie having got orders from the general to go out and meet the assailants, they were obliged to retire without doing any harm. The army remained the greater part of the day where they were, for the purpose of hearing their customary quantity of sermon, and only making a short march in the evening, to a place near Bramford, called Edglie Moor. Unfortunately, some accident delaying their baggage at the former position, they were here under the necessity of sleeping on the bare hard ground, without either beds beneath them, or tents to cover them, a misfortune which was considerably aggravated by the coldness of the night, as well as by the recollection of the comfort of their previous night's quarters. On Monday they marched forward, through Whittinghame, and, in the words of the last quoted authority, "set up their hempen city upon the top of a summer-looking hill, called the Newtoun of Eglesham, weill furnished by nature with grass." On the 25th, they crossed the Cocquit river near Longframlington, and in the evening encamped on a moor near Netherwitton, "full of heather, but without grass, having a wood to guard on one side." The march of Wednesday the 26th brought them to Trewick, "a place weill furnished with wood for burning, water, and grass, and hay; where," moreover, "the soldiers were again refreshed with fliches." On Thursday the 27th, they came within sight of Newcastle.

The committee of war here thought it necessary to write two letters, one to the governor of Newcastle, the other to the mayor, desiring to have free passage through that town on their way to supplicate their sovereign. The drummer of Lord Montgomery's regiment, a stout west-country man of the name of Jamieson, was intrusted to bear the dispatches forward; and in the meantime the army made a pause at a place three or four miles short of the town, where the road branches off to Newburnford. While they stopped there, the cannon and baggage, which happened, by the error of a guide, to be led another way, proceeded forward without a guard, and was just within reach of a party of the royal army from Newcastle, when providentially a stouter body of Scots came up to protect it, and obliged the other to retire.

In anticipation of the approach of the Covenanters to Newcastle, Lord Conway, the general of the king's cavalry, had been placed there with a garrison of upwards of five thousand foot and three thousand horse, to oppose their passage, which it was supposed he might do with success, as the town was well provisioned and fortified. Several of the commanders of this garrison were riding about the environs, to view the ground near the walls, when the messenger of the Scots army came up. They lost no time in asking whence he came; he answered, "From General Leslie," and showed the letters he was intrusted with. Sir Jacob Ashly took them from his hand and read the superscriptions; but observing them to be sealed, immediately delivered them back, telling the man to remember his (Sir Jacob Ashly's) service to the general, and to inform him, that if he sent any more sealed letters, the bearer should find that "he had

better stayed at home."¹² The drummer then returned, without making any other attempt to execute his errand.

Before he got back to the place where he had left the army, the committee had either abandoned the hope of getting a passage through Newcastle, or determined to seek a less difficult pass by one of the fords. He found them in full march towards Newburn, a village five miles up the Tyne, where it was possible to pass the river at low water. There General Lord Conway had drawn out the greater part of his forces, and raised three trenches, for the protection of the pass; and there it was destined that the only conflict should take place which was to distinguish this important campaign.

The principal ford of Newburn lies immediately under the village; and Conway had taken care to command it, as well as other two in the neighbourhood, with strong trenches. As there were, however, nearly a dozen more within no great distance, he had fully resolved to resign all attempts at resistance. He was only compelled, against his own wishes and judgment, to continue at his post, by the commands of the Earl of Strafford, who was anxious that something like a battle should take place betwixt the two armies, if for no other reason than to try their mettle.

There was this important difference betwixt the various sides of the river, that the ground on the north side, by which the Scots were to approach, descended by a gradual slope to the water's edge, while that on the south side spread out into a broad level plain, or haugh, with a hill rising abruptly behind, at the distance of half a mile from the river. The Scots could thus observe the move-

ments of the English more distinctly than the English could observe those of the Scots ; and thus also the Scottish cannon were able to command the English trenches.

As the Scots were that night approaching Newburn to take up their ground, Leslie and a few of the chief noblemen, riding a little way in advance, were nearly surprised and cut off by a party of English horse, which had crossed the Tyne to reconnoitre. Both parties, at sight of each other, called a halt. It seems probable, that, had the Scottish party made a precipitate retreat, the English would have made as hot a pursuit, and might have seized or slain them. But the resolution displayed by the halt gave the English so respectful a notion of their numbers or support as inclined them to refrain from any attack. On the appearance of a reinforcement to the Scottish party, the English retired over the water, and rejoined their main corps.

The Scots that night encamped on the top of Haddon Law, a rising ground behind Newburn, having a plain descent all the way down to the water. Their position was unfortunately deficient in the article of water ; but, on the other hand, they had plenty of coal from the numerous pits in the neighbourhood. This encouraged them to light immense fires during the night all along the front of their camp ; a circumstance which seems not to have been without its effect, in imposing a respectful notion of their strength upon the English.

Next morning the Scots could perceive, from their commanding station on the Law, the three trenches or batteries of the English on the plain beyond the river, each of them mounted with four pieces of ordnance, and manned with about five

hundred musketeers. They also saw several squadrons of horse drawn up on the meadow to the east, and a reserve of horse and foot placed on the height behind, near a place called Ryetown.

It was then debated whether they should endeavour to divert the enemy from his position, by sending off a portion of the army, as if for the purpose of crossing by another ford. Before a resolution was entered into, the general thought proper to delay till the men should be fortified by their dinner; and thus noon passed without any thing being done on either side; the horsemen of both armies watering their horses, in the meantime, at the river, in view of each other, without offence given or taken. As yet, perhaps, the English felt secure; for the tide was in such a state as to put the passage of the river out of the question. When it had subsided to its lowest level, they seem to have become more jealous; insomuch that, on a Scottish officer coming down to the river side, and taking an attentive view of their trenches, a musket-shot was sent across the water, which brought him to the ground.

This was a signal for the commencement of the battle. Leslie, who had previously planted a battery of cannon in the steeple of Newburn, and dispersed a great number of musketeers throughout the gardens and lanes, now opened up a few pieces of ordnance which he had set down in a peculiarly favourable situation, exactly opposite to the principal English trench. At the first discharge, which did no execution, the royalist musketeers, from behind the trenches, elevated their caps upon the points of lances, and uttered exclamations of contempt and ridicule of their Scottish assailants.

But the second discharge changed their tune, by stretching a considerable number on the sward. A general fire of cannon and musketry then commenced on both sides; the Scots directing their shot at the English sconces, for the purpose of dislodging their garrisons, and the English endeavouring to beat the Scots from the church steeple. At length the Scots succeeded in effecting a considerable breach in the main breast-work; after which every shot told fearfully upon the musketeers within. These men, who had been chiefly recruited within the last few months from the scum of London, soon found their courage give way before so terrible a fire. They first complained, then mutinied, and at last, on receiving one particularly well-directed shot, fairly fled from their position.

This was no sooner perceived by the Scots, than they sent a forlorn party of sixteen men, (volunteers,) under a Major Ballantyne, across the water, to reconnoitre the condition of the upper breast-work; with orders only to fire at a distance, and retreat if necessary. Before they could return, it was perceived from the rising grounds in the neighbourhood that the garrison had retreated from it also. The College of Justice troop, (that is, the troop composed of gentlemen connected with the law courts of Edinburgh,) then went across the river, under their commander, Sir Thomas Hope, accompanied by two regiments of foot, (those of Lords Crawford and Loudon,) to try what impression could be made upon the rear of the retreating host. At the same moment, Leslie opened a battery from a hill to the eastward, directly upon the great body of loyalist horse drawn up on the plain below. A retreat was then sounded, and the cannon was withdrawn from the trenches. The

Scots, seizing the opportunity, immediately began to pass the river in full force.

The battle, however, was not yet gained. The best of the English cavaliers had been reserved to protect the rear. They were men of the highest spirit in the cause, most of them English gentlemen of Catholic or high Episcopalian principles. They wore corslets of impenetrable steel, and were mounted on large powerful horses, against which the little Scottish nags made but a sorry appearance. Led by Wilmot, their commissary, and by Sir John Digby, this dauntless band repeatedly charged and beat back the College of Justice troop, and other portions of the Scots army, which successively came up. The Covenanters could scarcely oppose to them more than man to man; for it was in a narrow lane that the attack took place. There was even some apprehension, at one time, that they would be obliged to retire, and leave an equivocal victory to the fugitive army. Fortunately, to prevent so dire a disgrace, old Leslie himself came up, and, putting himself at the head of the troops, encouraged them by voice and example, to make one last and redeeming charge upon their mailed adversaries. It was so far successful, that they environed and took them all prisoners; but the main body of the army had in the meantime made a safe and unannoyed retreat.

The English horse had left Newcastle the day before, with doffed hats and drawn swords, drinking healths, as they rode along, to the king, whom they swore to fight for to the last drop of their blood, and every man holding up his hand and vowing to kill at least a dozen Covenanters. They now made their way into the town, in a state of the utmost disorder and dismay; crying, as they

rode at full speed through the streets, "Now, man, woman, and child, pack up and begone! These naked devils, the Scots, are upon you! Fye, fye, for a guide to Durham!" The roads over which they had passed were strewed with arms which they had thrown away in the extremity of their panic.

Only about forty of the English fell in this engagement, and these chiefly about the trenches. There were, however, about eighty taken, including a great number of officers. The Scots lost only four or five men, but had a great number more wounded. The only person of any eminence who fell on that side, was a son of Sir Patrick M'Ghie of Largo, (in Galloway,) standard-bearer to Colonel Leslie's troop. He was a young man of great spirit, and was much lamented by the whole party. Zachary Boyd, the laureat of the Covenanters, has embalmed his memory in the following brief but expressive elegy :

" In this conflict, which was a great pitie,
We lost the son of Sir Patrick M'Ghie !" 13

The Scottish army encamped that night (Friday, the 28th of August,) upon the ground near Ryton, which the enemy had occupied the night before; Lord Carnegie's regiment alone remaining on the north side of the river, to guard the baggage, which could not be brought over on account of the flow of the tide. The most devout exercises were that night performed by all classes of the army, on account of their victory, which all acknowledged to be a special work of Providence. Next morning, the committee prepared new dispatches for the governor and mayor of Newcastle, in which they called upon them, in the same respectful terms as

formerly, to permit their passage through the town ; but ere they were sent off, intelligence arrived that the whole garrison of that city had abandoned it during the night, and retired with Lord Conway, to join the main body of the royal army at York. It was then thought proper to advance upon the town without ceremony.

The army moved that day to a town called Whiggam, within two miles of Newcastle, where they encamped. On the succeeding day, (Sunday, the 30th of August,) the mayor sent a message, inviting them to enter the town ; and they then advanced to a field near the suburb, called Gateside. - The gates were now thrown open, and the committee, with the principal leaders, marched into the town in state ; Sir Thomas Hope's troop, and others which had distinguished themselves in the action, marshalling the way, and the Laird of Westquarter, with his foot company, keeping the port at the end of the bridge. The whole company was received at the mayor's house ; where, during dinner, it was remarked with surprise that they drank the king's health. When dinner was concluded, Mr Alexander Henderson preached to them in the great church of St Nicholas, choosing for his text the same significant passage of Scripture with which he had concluded the Assembly of Glasgow, " The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool."

The Scottish army, which had previously been in considerable distress for want of provisions, did not immediately procure at Newcastle the supplies which they had expected. A great number of the citizens, and in particular all the victuallers and bakers, so soon as the town was deserted by Lord

Conway's army, had fled from their houses, taking every thing of value with them, and leaving the rest locked up. The committee, however, met on Monday morning, for the purpose of making search for provisions; and the result of their inquiries was the discovery of a prodigious concealed store which had belonged to the royal army. Besides four thousand muskets and as many swords, they found here five thousand pounds weight of cheese, many hundred bolls of pease and rye, some hard fish, and abundance of beer.

The capture of Newcastle was of great advantage to the cause of the Covenanters. It had, in the first place, all the ordinary effect of a victory upon the minds of the enemy. In the second place, it supplied them with provisions, of which they had previously been in great want. Lastly, it enabled them to give the people of England a proof of those friendly intentions which they had avowed on entering the country, by permitting the vessels which then, as now, supplied the capital with coal, to ply backward and forward as usual, without the slightest interruption.¹⁴

There was at this time a complete mass of events favourable to the Scottish arms. The victory of Newburn, and the capture of Newcastle, were immediately followed by the acquisition of Durham, Tynemouth, and Shields. On the same day that they gained the victory of Newburn, the castle of Dumbarton, in Scotland, was surrendered to their friends there; and a party of English, sallying from Berwick, was repelled with loss, by the Earl of Haddington, so that "the carts," says Baillie, "which they brought with them to take back the Scots cannon, were only employed to take back their own dead." The number and the

splendour of these successes were interpreted by the piety or superstition of the Scottish army into a manifestation of Divine favour; and a day was set apart for acknowledging their sense of Almighty goodness, by fasting and prayer. Their joy was damped immediately after, by intelligence, that the Earl of Haddington, who was left in command of the south-east province of Scotland, and who was at once a wealthy and a well-affected nobleman, had been, on the 30th of August, only two days after his triumph over the Berwick party, destroyed, along with eighty of his friends and retainers, by an explosion which took place in Dunglass castle, where he was residing. Yet even this event turned out to their advantage; for the alarm occasioned by the explosion causing the beacons to be everywhere lighted up, the garrison of Edinburgh castle conceived that a royal fleet was coming to their relief, and immediately held a grand feast, which so much impaired their little stock of provisions, that, on the 15th of September, they were obliged to surrender by downright starvation. The obstinate gallantry displayed by this garrison, is one of the finest points in the campaign of 1640; and it is gratifying to record, that they were permitted by the terms of surrender, to march forth in arms, carrying their cannon and baggage, with bullets in their mouths, cocked matches on their fire-arms, and colours flying, according to the custom of Germany in such cases, to show that they only retired from their charge at their own will, and were not subjected to the discretion of the enemy. Somerville, however, a curious annalist of the time,¹⁵ could not help recording that, although they had procured such good terms from the besiegers, they did not per-

form their proud march down the High Street, without being pretty well battered at once by hard words and more substantial missiles, from the tongues and hands of "the devout wives of Edinburgh."

The situation of King Charles was, meanwhile, as miserable as that of his insurgent subjects was triumphant. Hurried into war by Laud, Strafford, and his own inclinations, and trusting to make an effective party with the English, by the indignation which he supposed they must feel at the invasion of the Scots, he had left London on the same day that the Covenanters crossed the Tweed, and was at Northallerton when he learnt that his troops had been beat at Newburn. He immediately retired, with a distressed mind, to York, where he endeavoured to concentrate and increase his forces. He, and Strafford, and Laud, used every effort to rouse the militia of the northern counties, and to inspire the men already in arms with the enthusiasm which seems to be necessary for fighting in a civil war. But the militia refused to be embodied without pay, which the unfortunate king had it not in his power to give them; and as for the army, it was, according to the report of Clarendon, much more incensed against its own leaders than against the Scots. Deserted by the affection of all his subjects, except a chosen few; opposed, with an army of fifteen thousand raw and unwilling recruits, to one of twenty-four thousand experienced and determined enthusiasts; destitute of money, and unable from fear to call the parliament, which alone could supply him with it, he may be said to have had no resource except one, which could have only come to him in the very

extremity of distress,—the compassion of his subjects.

There were circumstances, however, which induced the Scottish army to pause with the success they had already achieved. Many of their men, disgusted with the hardships of the service, or disinclined to the cause, thought proper to retire into their own country. Money was becoming scarce with them, and they were consequently compelled to take so much provision upon credit, that they feared the English would soon get tired of their company. They feared, moreover, that to press any further upon the king for the present, would turn the tide of popular feeling in his favour; and there was, besides, a considerable party of their own body, who were disposed in a friendly manner towards him.

It was therefore resolved by the committee, almost immediately after their victory, to enter into a treaty with the king. On the 2d of September they dispatched a letter to the Earl of Lanark, a younger brother of the Marquis of Hamilton, and Secretary of State for Scotland, enclosing a petition, which they requested him to lay before the king. This petition, which was couched in extremely delicate and respectful terms, stated, that being obliged by their grievances to come into England, to seek his own royal ear, they had been compelled to “remove such forces as their enemies had placed to oppose them at Newburn;” that they entertained no wish but to petition him for relief; and that they now humbly intreated he would be pleased to call a parliament in England, which they conceived to be the only means now likely to succeed in restoring peace to the two countries.

The king immediately returned an answer, requesting them to set down in plainer terms the claims which they were disposed to make upon him, mentioning that, to settle the affairs of the country, he had called a meeting of the Peers of England at York, on the 24th instant; and assuring them, that he was as anxious for peace as the meanest subject in his dominions. They lost no time in replying to this with a petition more at large than the last, demanding, that the acts of the last Scottish parliament might be ratified by him; that the castle of Edinburgh, and other public forts, should be garrisoned for their defence and security; that their countrymen, in England and Ireland, might be subject to no further persecution for subscribing the Covenant; that those persons (meaning Laud, Strafford, &c.) who had been instrumental in raising these unhappy combustions, might receive their just censure; that the Scottish ships and goods, seized by his majesty, might be restored—the losses and expenses of the nation, in the present campaign, repaid—and the stigma of traitors, which had been affixed to them, taken off; and, finally, that, with the consent of the parliament of England, the frontier forts of Berwick and Carlisle might be removed, together with all other impediments to free trade, and to the general peace of the two kingdoms.

This petition was sent by Sir James Mercer, who also carried with him a number of letters from the Scottish leaders to their friends in the English camp, all of them previously read over and sanctioned by the committee, according to a rule which had been made at the beginning of the campaign, and which had declared it to be treason to correspond with the English court, or army, under other

circumstances. As Sir Richard Graham, a gentleman of the English camp, opened a letter from the Earl of Montrose, which had just been delivered to him by Sir James Mercer, and which Sir James knew to have been submitted to the committee, an enclosed letter dropped out of it; and Sir James, politely stooping to pick up the same, was surprised to find it addressed to the king. Certain that no letter addressed to the king had been shown by the earl to the committee, Sir James at once became convinced of what had for some time been suspected by his party, that that young nobleman had entered into a traitorous correspondence with his majesty. Immediately on returning to Newcastle, he disclosed the circumstance to General Leslie, who, at a meeting of the committee that afternoon, where it happened to be the turn of the Earl of Montrose to preside, desired that Sir James Mercer might be called in and examined regarding the letters he had carried to court. Sir James being accordingly introduced, declared what he had seen and suspected.

The president, upon whom this charge came with the suddenness of a thunderbolt, was fortunately possessed of sufficient presence of mind to meet and obviate the coming danger. He at once boldly stood up, and challenged the committee to say, that writing to the king was corresponding with an enemy, or that it was any thing else than paying duty to their common master. Leslie, who thought of military politics alone, had the hardihood to say, that he had known princes lose their heads for less faults. But the Scottish nobles had not yet so completely shaken off allegiance to their king, as to dispute openly the strong position which Montrose had taken; nor were they

disposed to proceed to extremities with one who commanded, and had influence over, about four thousand of their army. He was only sentenced to keep his chamber.¹⁶

The secret history of Montrose's conduct at this period, is, that since the pacification of Berwick, when he was gained over by the king in person, he had been exerting himself to form a royal party in Scotland, of which he himself should be head. The only object which this nobleman ever cherished, was personal aggrandisement : his sole inspiration was the vice, or the virtue, of ambition.¹⁷ In early youth, when returning from his travels, full of foreign accomplishments, and in the spring-tide of youthful hope, he had endeavoured to attract the favourable attention of his sovereign.¹⁸ Disappointed in that object, he was urged by wounded self-love to enter the ranks of the Covenanters ; where for some time he acted with a degree of zeal which fairly showed that he aimed at a high, if not the highest, place in their councils and army. But Rothes had from the beginning taken the lead in their councils, and Leslie was preferred as generalissimo, both on account of his superior military experience, and because his preferment could excite the jealousy of no individual nobleman. Montrose, therefore, seeing it impossible to acquire the distinction he aimed at in the popular party, was easily persuaded to revert to the king, by the prospect which Charles held out to him of becoming head of the loyal party about to be formed in Scotland. During the interval of peace between the last campaign and the present, he had exerted himself secretly to gain over his personal friends and others to the king ; and such had been his success ; that,

on the 6th of July, 1640, a bond of association, drawn out by himself, and headed by his name, was signed by the Earl of Wigton, the Lords Fleming, Boyd, and Almond; and afterwards by the Earls of Marischal, Mar, Athole, Kinghorn, Perth, Kelly, Home, and Seaforth, and the Lords Stormont, Erskine, Drummond, Napier, and Ker, as well as by some persons of less note; engaging to maintain the royal authority, with the liberties of the kingdom, against all who should display other designs. This document, from the place where it was framed, is known in Scottish history by the epithet of "The Cumbernauld Association." It was the first attempt at a secession from the pure object and motives of the Covenant, and may be accepted as a proof that the unity of feeling with which Scotland at first took up arms for the protection of her religion, was no longer the same, but had, as it were, become broken by its very success.

Urged probably by the discovery of Montrose's disaffection, the Scottish committee soon settled the preliminaries of a treaty with the king. Commissioners from both sides being appointed, a meeting took place on the 1st of October, at Rippon, a village situated half way betwixt the quarters of the two armies. It was there agreed that hostilities should cease betwixt them on the 26th of October. Charles consented to obey the national voice by calling a parliament. On that condition, the peers in council at York agreed to borrow upon their personal security, and the city of London agreed to lend, a sufficient quantity of money to pay both armies, till such time as it was expected the national grievances would be settled in parliament. The Scottish army was to receive

£850 a-day, and to remain at Newcastle. In the meantime, the commission for settling the terms of peace was transferred from Rippon to London, in order to attend upon parliament, which had been called to meet on the 3d of November.

CHAPTER XII.

SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT SIGNED.

As when the sea breaks o'er its bounds,
And overflows the level grounds,
Those banks and dams, that like a skreen
Did keep it out, now keep it in.

Hudibras.

SCOTLAND, which had hitherto acted a chief part in the struggle with the king, from this period will be observed to appear in only a secondary character. It had done to England the valuable service of proving that their common sovereign was to be successfully resisted: it now yielded up to its more powerful neighbour the task of prosecuting to the utmost his reduction within the limits of that prerogative which he had so far transgressed. England being once fairly engaged in the struggle, for which it had been so long ripe, and was at this juncture so competent, Scotland fell back to its natural position as only an auxiliary.

The change of combatants was by no means favourable to the king. He had hitherto contended with a people who, notwithstanding the strenuous resistance which they had offered to his measures, were in reality by no means inspired with any

strong feeling of hostility to his person, but were rather, from many circumstances, warmly attached to it. He had now to meet the sterner array of a nation which was not *à priori* so well inclined to his person, which was much more powerful and enlightened, and to which he had, if possible, given deeper cause of offence.

In addition, moreover, to his new enemies, he still retained the old; for the Scottish army, as it had already obliged him to call the English parliament, so it continued to hang over him, a willing bugbear to frighten him into compliance with all the revolutionary schemes which that body of republicans chose to devise for his destruction.

The parliament—the famed Long Parliament—met on the 3d of November, and was no sooner seated than it began to direct its energies against the royal authority. It soon became apparent that Charles, in constituting that uncompromising body, had only organized an engine which was to work his own ruin. One of its first acts was to impeach his most zealous and prominent minister, the Earl of Strafford, of high treason. It next proceeded to impeach, and to commit for trial, Archbishop Laud, or as he was popularly and punningly styled, in allusion to his diminutive stature, “his little grace,” who, like Strafford, was obnoxious to the nation by his advocacy of arbitrary measures in the royal council. The Scots had demanded the surrender of these ministers (as well as some others) to public vengeance, from resentment of what they had done in regard to Scotland; and the English nation seem to have felt that their destruction was necessary, as an atonement to the genius of liberty, which they had so grievously offended, and as a warning to all who might henceforth, like

them, be disposed to act as the agents of royal tyranny. They were successively executed,¹ although at a considerable interval; and it may be safely presumed that their deaths paved the way for, by preparing the people to sanction, the similar fate eventually awarded to the king.

The Commons of England displayed their ascendancy over the sovereign by various other acts. They extorted from him, in particular, a bill which enabled them to sit as long as they chose, without being liable to dissolution, or even to prorogation, by his decree. They also prepared to give a final blow to his authority, by demolishing, what had long been esteemed its chief bulwark, the Established Church of England.

The parliament which performed these wonders, was composed of three different parties; the friends of the king and the church, who were very few; the friends of presbyterianism, who were also in general friendly to the king; and the republicans or independents, who cared for no description of constituted church, and who were decidedly adverse to the king. The last party was the most numerous; and, being as yet in strict alliance with the Presbyterians or middle party, it was able to command on all occasions triumphant majorities in the house. The first or loyal party was not only smaller, but was not nearly so steadfast or zealous: the opposite party often tired it out by debating, and, after most had retired to dinner or to other relaxations, sometimes accomplished objects which could not have been otherwise obtained. Thus, on one occasion, when the matter in debate was no less than the existence or destruction of the Church of England, the loyalists retired almost to a man, leaving the puritans to do as they pleased in their absence; which

caused Lord Falkland to make the ludicrous, but just remark, that "the enemies of the church hated it worse than the devil, while its very best friends did not like it so well as their dinner."²

During all these transactions the Scottish army lay in comfortable quarters at Newcastle, and the commissioners of the kingdom resided in London. When the treaty was entered into at Rippon, it was expected that, like that of Berwick, it would be transacted in a very brief space of time. The English malcontents, however, saw that the continuance of the Scottish Covenanters in arms, with their demands still unsatisfied, was absolutely necessary to their existence as a parliament; and they contrived, on various pretences, to protract the conclusion of the treaty till such time as they felt the spirit of their own country to be sufficient for their protection. They willingly supported the Scottish army, at its stipulated ratio of £850 a-day, and even did not hesitate to give it a *douceur* for the more effectual purchase of its countenance. Under the pretext of repaying the losses which the kingdom had endured by the war, they voted them what they styled a *brotherly assistance* to the amount of £300,000, paying £80,000 as a first instalment of the sum. So long as the army lived in good quarters, and received its pay with due regularity, it was of course willing to accommodate itself to the views of the parliament.

The commissioners for the management of the treaty had been appointed from the beginning a house to reside in, near London, Stone, together with the neighbouring church of St Antholin's, as a proper place for the performance of public worship after their own fashion. In that church, which was connected with the house by a secret passage,

through which the commissioners could enter the gallery, without being seen, the most distinguished of the Scottish clergy, who attended the commission, as Baillie, Henderson, Blair, and Gillespie, preached every day, from morning till night, to the people of London, who flocked in such crowds to hear them, that after thousands had been admitted, scores clung to the windows, to catch the very echoes of this newfangled and favourite species of sacred rhetoric. The effect of these prelections was soon observable upon the city mobs, who henceforth assailed the king, wherever he appeared upon the street, with vehement denunciations of Episcopacy.

It was not till August 1641, nearly ten months from the commencement of the treaty, that the parliament permitted it to be concluded. The king had in the meantime exerted himself to gain over the affections of the commissioners, and with such effect, that Rothes, hitherto their principal man, was supposed to have become his friend, although his death, which happened soon after, prevented any conspicuous display of the change from ever being made. Titular honours, however, and promises of office, which were all the unfortunate monarch had to bestow, made but a poor impression, in general, upon the bosoms of these personages, compared with what was produced by the substantial bribes—for such they must be termed—which the parliament had already given them. Moreover, without regard to such means of biassing affection, the Scottish army and people were as yet much more strongly disposed to side with the parliament, their new ally, than with the king, who might in some measure be termed their old enemy. Charles was still known to be anxious to save Episcopacy both

in England and Scotland, while it was evident from the conduct of parliament, that that detested system of worship would speedily be so completely abolished as never to give them any farther annoyance. They are even at this time supposed to have been flattered by the dominant party in parliament, with the prospect of seeing their own beloved system of religion substituted in England for that which had wrought them so much mischief.

The Scots were singularly fortunate in thus becoming an object of competition between the king and parliament; being enabled by the circumstance to get all they wanted from both parties. From parliament they had got the arrears of their pay, and an immense superfluous sum, neither of which they had the least reason to expect on their entering the war. From the king, in the hope which he entertained of thereby mollifying them towards himself, they obtained a ratification not only of all their desires on the score of religion, but also of many political advantages; he having acceded to almost every item of the eight demands which they made last year at Newcastle.

Soon after the treaty was concluded, and when the Scottish army was on the point of being dissolved, they derived some further advantages from the power which they seemed to have, of casting the balance between the contending parties. The king, not thinking that he had yet sufficiently secured them by granting all their desires, and being anxious that, in case of the war which he foresaw between him and his parliament, they should either side with him, or at least remain neutral, resolved to pay their country a visit, and to exert all his influence, and offer all he had to give, in order to bring them over. For this purpose, much against

the will of parliament, he set out from London on the 10th of August; and passing through Newcastle, where he was received with respect by the Scottish army, and entertained by their general, he arrived at Edinburgh on the 14th.

Every effort and every expedient which could be devised for the conciliation of Scotland, was immediately brought into play by this much-humbled monarch, who might almost be said to have now come in the character of a suppliant to the very people, whom two little years before he had denounced as rebels. It was on a Saturday evening that he arrived. He spent almost the whole of the succeeding day in attendance upon public worship, after the Scottish fashion; which, as if to gratify the people as much as possible, was performed by their favourite preacher, Mr Alexander Henderson, in that very Chapel-Royal, which, for twenty years before the insurrection, had been used, so much to the disgust of the Scottish nation, for the performance of the Episcopalian service. The same clergyman was appointed to attend him constantly as a sort of domestic chaplain, to pray every morning and evening before him, and either to preach to him every Sunday himself, or to stand beside his chair while some minister of his appointment took his place in the pulpit. Besides the ordinary sermons on Sunday, his majesty announced his intention of attending as many every Tuesday; and during the whole of these tedious harangues, he scrupulously took care never to express any sensations of languor. By his whole conduct, and by what he ordained to be observed by his household, he endeavoured to flatter the nation with an idea, that he was either a sincere convert to their system of worship, or at least that

he no longer entertained that aversion to it, which was supposed to have been the occasion of all the late troubles.

In all his public acts he zealously pursued the same object. When he met them for the first time in parliament, he expressed a strong desire to give a formal ratification to the acts already acknowledged in the treaty, by touching them with the sceptre—a ceremony which served in Scotland the purposes answered in England by the royal signature. But they rejected this proposal, on the plea that it supposed an invalidity in the treaty; and they contented themselves with seeing him publish and proclaim the acts in his own name. He then consented to various new acts, which they proposed to him as necessary for the peace and well-being of the kingdom. One was to decree that parliament should meet once every three years, without the necessity of being called, as it had hitherto been, by himself. Another was to put into their hands the power of choosing the officers of state, of justice, and of law, without his having any power of interference in the matter. He might thus be said to have denuded himself of all but a nominal sovereignty over the country, and to have surrendered the whole power of government back into the hands of the people, from whom he had obtained it.

But the favours which he thus heaped upon the nation at large were scarcely calculated to make such an impression on the public mind, as those which he bestowed upon the individual heads of the new government. The chief offices were, in the first place, according to the object of the act, filled with the leading Covenanters. Loudon was made Chancellor, with an earldom, and a

pension of L.1000 sterling a-year; Argyle, Glencairn, Lothian, and Lindsay, became a committee for discharging the office of Treasurer; the Earl of Roxburgh, who had deputed his eldest son to join the ranks of the Covenanters, was continued in his office of Lord Privy Seal; Sir Thomas Hope, notwithstanding his betrayal of the king's interests throughout the whole troubles, remained in the situation of Lord Advocate; Johnstoun became a Lord of Session, with a pension; and Sir Thomas Hope, junior, was made Justice-General. Many honours were, moreover, distributed among them. Argyle was raised to a marquise—London, as we have said, to an earldom. Old General Leslie was made Earl of Leven, the king himself putting on his coronet in a full meeting of parliament.³ The Lieutenant-General, Almond, was made Earl of Callander; the Lairds of Dudhope and Arbuthnot were made Viscounts; and Sir Andrew Murray (the second man that signed the Covenant) now obtained a peerage, under the title of Lord Balvaird. Many inferior persons were knighted. The king, as Clarendon remarks, seemed to have no other object than to honour and prefer every body precisely in proportion to the ability which the individual possessed of doing him mischief. Nor were the clergy forgotten. Henderson, who was now a sort of favourite with the king, got the rent of the Chapel-Royal, which had formerly been deemed “a morsel fit for a bishop;”⁴ Gillespie had a pension settled upon him; and the professors of the universities, who were generally at the same time ministers, were endowed with liberal provisions from the revenues of the suppressed bishoprics.

While the king bestowed these favours upon

his enemies, he was not permitted to display the least favour for his friends: All that he could procure for those who had served him most faithfully in the late convulsions was, that they should not be given up to the popular vengeance. The unfortunate cavaliers could not help remarking, with bitterness of spirit, that if they had served his majesty with less zeal, they would probably have been more liberally rewarded; and one of them, the Earl of Carnwath, went so far as to say in a public meeting, that he conceived the best plan to procure the favour of the king, would be to go over to Ireland and join Sir Phelim O'Neal, the chief of the rebels who were then agitating that unhappy country.⁵

There were, however, at this period, some friends of the king, who were not to be prevented by his present inability to reward them, from engaging in enterprises for the advancement of his interests. Among these, the Earl of Montrose was by many degrees the most zealous. An incident had occurred previous to the king's visit, which caused this restless nobleman to be arrested by the Covenanters, and thrown into Edinburgh castle. His bond of association, mentioned in the last chapter, was discovered by Argyle. Being immediately seized, he was summoned before the Committee of Estates, and required to give an explanation of his conduct. He owned the bond, and gave some reasons for having entered into it, which provoked his examiners to such a degree, that, but for the fear of precipitating a rupture with the royalists, he would have been proceeded against capitally. One circumstance which came out against him during the examination gave peculiar offence: It was discovered that he had uttered a calumnious

statement regarding Argyle, to the effect that that nobleman had publicly declared it to be the intention of parliament to depose the king. On being charged with this, he gave for his author Mr John Stuart, Commissary of Dunkeld; who, being forthwith examined, declared, that last year, being with the Earl of Athole and some other gentlemen in Argyle's tent at the Ford of Lyon, he had heard his lordship say, "that the Covenanters had consulted both lawyers and divines anent (*concerning*) the deposing of the king, and gotten resolution that it might be done in three cases—desertion, invasion, and vendition; and that they had resolved, at the last sitting of parliament, to accomplish that object at its next session." Stuart, for giving circulation to this calumny, which fell under the description of *leasing-making*, and having eventually acknowledged that he did so from malice, was tried, condemned, and beheaded.

Montrose continued in Edinburgh castle, along with his fellow-conspirators, Lord Napier, and the Lairds of Keir and Blackhall, when the king arrived in Scotland. It will appear strange, that while under strict confinement, he should have contrived to exert himself in behalf of the king. Yet it seems certain that he did so. An abortive plot, termed "The Incident," which came to light while the king resided here, and which seems to have formed part of a simultaneous conspiracy throughout the three kingdoms in favour of distressed royalty, can only be ascribed to his active and unhesitating genius.

The Marquis of Hamilton had, previous to this period, made his peace with the Covenanters, and was now, along with his brother the Earl of Lanark, high in their confidence, and almost on a level with

Argyle in the management of affairs. Montrose was therefore pleased to honour him and his brother with a share of that invidious antipathy which he had previously cherished towards Argyle. Struck with an idea, that if these men were all removed, the king's interest and his own would at once rise, he proposed to Charles, in a letter, a plan for having them assassinated. The mind of the king revolted with horror from a proposal, which, however suitable to the latitude of a half-barbarous state like Scotland, was not at all agreeable to an enlightened mind;⁶ but he expressed no dislike to a modification of the plan, which Montrose immediately afterwards seems to have submitted to him, the object of which was, that the same individuals should only be arrested and tried for high treason. There is no direct evidence, it must be remarked, that either Montrose projected, or that Charles sanctioned, the scheme; yet the train of events which followed are of such a nature as not to be explicable upon any other supposition.

The *scheme* of the plot was strongly characteristic of Scotland—it was quite in the spirit of an ancient *raid*. The three obnoxious noblemen were to have been called out of their beds on a particular night, under the pretence of their being requested by the king to visit him in his bed-chamber. As they were proceeding thither, they were to be arrested as traitors by a set of officers devoted to the king; then they were to be put into the hands of the Earl of Crawford, who was to keep a body of soldiers in readiness; under which escort they were to be hurried on board a vessel in Leith roads; where they were to lie secure from the interference of the people, till such time as the king had gained a sufficient ascendancy

in the country, to try, condemn, and execute them. It was part of the project, that the city of Edinburgh was to be seized by the same body of soldiers, and the castle put into the hands of the Earl of Montrose. Probably it was contemplated, that, the chief men being cut off, the people overawed, the seat of government seized, and the parliament subjected to the royal will, matters in Scotland would once more revert to their ancient channels, and Charles be enabled to appear before his English parliament with a force sufficient to suppress it.

Circumstances corroborating this view of "The Incident" were actually taking place, or had recently taken place, in the two sister countries. In England, an attempt had been made to draw the army into a sort of declaration in favour of the king, for the purpose of cooling the parliament; and in Ireland, an insurrection of the Catholics was just on the very same day taking place, which, though certainly attended with circumstances not calculated to be favourable to any party concerned, was unquestionably undertaken with a view towards the promotion of the royal interest.

The plot of "The Incident" was divulged by a gentleman who was invited to join in it, and refused. On his conveying the intelligence to Lieutenant Colonel Hurry, that officer lost no time in carrying it to General Leslie, and he in his turn immediately communicated it to the persons chiefly concerned. They instantly took measures for the protection of their persons for the ensuing night, and next morning, after writing a hasty apology to the king for their conduct, retired to Kinneil House in West Lothian, the seat of the mother of the two Hamiltons. The whole city caught the alarm;

the friends and retainers of the three noblemen assembled for their protection ; and the chief Covenanters set watches upon their houses. In the afternoon the king went up the main street of the city, with five or six hundred armed men behind him, with whom he entered the outer hall of the Parliament House. He complained loudly to parliament against the three noblemen, whom he accused of a design to throw obstacles in the way of his reconciliation with his people, by breaking up the parliament. He demanded that they should not be permitted to return till the matter was investigated ; and he proposed that his own conduct should be scrutinized at the pleasure of parliament.

The Scottish Estates were necessarily much alarmed at " The Incident ;" but they took some vigorous measures for their own protection, and eventually had the resolution to sit still. An account of the plot was communicated to the English parliament by a committee which that body had deputed to Edinburgh to act as spies upon the king ; and such was the alarm which it occasioned in London, that it was thought necessary to mount a guard upon the House of Commons. The whole matter, however, soon passed into oblivion, especially in Scotland, where two days had not elapsed after its discovery before Argyle, Hamilton, and Lanark, had returned, and were taken once more into favour by the king.

After remaining three months in Edinburgh, Charles was at last hurried away by intelligence of the breaking out of the Irish Catholic insurrection. Owing to a disappointment which that party had met with at the beginning of their enterprise, in not being able to seize the city of Dublin, they had permitted themselves to be transported be-

yond the bounds of reason and humanity, and had attempted an indiscriminate massacre of all the Protestants and English who resided within their country. Charles saw it to be necessary for his interest to put a stop to proceedings, the whole blame of which would probably be imputed to himself; and, after opening a negotiation with the Scottish Parliament for the transportation of a body of their troops over to the sister island, to be employed in suppressing the insurrection, he took a hasty leave of Scotland. On the evening before his departure, (November 17,) he feasted the whole of the nobility in the great hall of Holyroodhouse, and declared that he "went away a contented prince from a contented people."

Every day after the king's return to London, things seemed to be precipitated faster and faster towards that bloody climax, which men had for some time looked forward to as the only termination to the present extraordinary conflict of opinions. It may be useful at such a period for the reader to pause, and, casting one hurried glance backward, prepare himself for the ground which he is yet to traverse. He has, in the first place, seen a pious and benignant sovereign assume the government of a country which was rendered almost ungovernable by the violence of religious and political faction. He has seen this monarch side with the party whose religious and political sentiments seemed most favourable to the interests of monarchy; the party which seemed to comprise the bulk of the wealth, power, and intelligence of the country. He has seen the monarch, in order to maintain ancient institutions against the attacks of the opposite party, descend to the use of cruel and illegal powers which he supposed to be

vested in himself; in particular, that he used his simple arbitrary will in endeavouring to reform the religious opinions of one whole state. Countenanced by the liberal principles which had been gradually spreading in the meantime throughout the population of England, this nation had fairly rebelled; had overawed the king; had then reduced him to a sort of obedience to his subjects; and finally, by its victorious army, had extorted from him such concessions of his prerogative as might almost be said to have disowned him.

So far all was well; and, if the king had then died, and some collateral relation succeeded, it is probable that the state would have flourished more than ever under the new limitations of the royal power. But the misfortune was, that the king, from whom these concessions had been wrested, was naturally supposed willing not only to seize the first opportunity of reasserting his pristine rights, but also to revenge upon his insurgent subjects the insults and injuries which they had seen it to be their duty to offer to him. Fearing the possibility of a rebound, they were obliged, for their own safety, to press him harder and harder, and bind him faster and faster, in the hope of at length seeing themselves placed in a condition of complete security. This of course drove him to desperation; and, though unwilling to enter into war, he was at last compelled, for the safety of himself and his family, and for the salvation of the frame of government, to resort to that last argument.

The reader has seen that, during the years 1639 and 1640, when the Scottish Covenanters appeared in arms before him, there seemed to be scarcely such a thing in England as a party willing to espouse the interests of loyalty. This, however,

was only occasioned by the general apathy of the nation towards the subject in dispute. The matter of contention was now (1641) one of more general and more exciting interest. A strong English party was now banded against the king. "The five hundred kings of the House of Commons," as King James VI. used to call them, had now arrayed themselves in the front of majesty ; and the two parties seemed to be committed for a mortal struggle. The very danger of the king, his helplessness, his wretchedness, then gained him friends, whom substantial pay and glittering honour could not have formerly brought around him.

The king's friends were chiefly country gentlemen ; men of ancient and honourable families, who feared that, if his interest fell, their own must fall likewise, and who, moreover, were generally attached to the object which he had always professed to patronise with most distinction, and for which he might now be said to be about to do battle,—the Church of England, and its far-extended privileges. The friends of parliament were, on the other hand, mostly citizens ; men bred to mercantile employments, who felt their sympathies excited, as is customary with men of that order, in favour of any political or religious movements that promised to equalise more nearly the various ranks of mankind. The king had endeavoured, with some success, to gain back his Scottish subjects, and he calculated upon the hearty assistance of almost all ranks and persuasions of the gentry of England. The parliament trusted chiefly to the inhabitants of the city where they were assembled ; the wealthy, the numerous, the zealous population of London.

When Charles returned from Scotland, he found

the House of Commons making a prodigious outcry about the late conspiracy in Scotland, about the Irish massacre, and about the designs against them which they professed to be daily discovering among the Papists and friends of absolute royalty. They endeavoured to make their alarms the pretext for drawing a strong body-guard around them, and even for taking out of the king's hands the power of raising the militia of the kingdom, and nominating officers to the army. Charles, on his part, was not inactive in his designs against them. He had endeavoured, when in Scotland, to collect from Montrose and others such a body of evidence against certain of the most violent of these demagogues, regarding their underhand transactions with the Covenanters, as might seem sufficient to convict them of high treason; in which case, he hoped, their fate would terrify the remainder into more moderate measures. He even adopted the daring resolution of seizing five members of the Commons and one of the Lords, with his own hand, while they were in the very place of their pride, in the very throne of their successful sedition. He attempted to put this design into practice on the 3d of January, 1642; but the obnoxious individuals escaped as he entered the House, and he was at once disappointed in a favourite object, and overwhelmed with popular opprobrium for so violent and so unkingly an attempt.

Soon after this, preparations might be said to have commenced on both sides for putting the argument to the arbitration of the sword. The parliament were, perhaps, fully best fitted for entering into war; for they possessed, in consequence of the late concessions, almost all the resources of the kingdom. The king was proportionally unfit

for a campaign : he, however, took the opportunity afforded by his daughter Mary's sailing for Holland, where she was to be married to the Prince of Orange, to send over his consort to that country, with the crown-jewels, to purchase arms and ammunition. He attempted to gain the Tower of London by substituting a new lieutenant of his own party for one of the parliamentary complexion; he dispatched the Earl of Newcastle to take possession of Hull, where all the stores prepared for the two Scottish campaigns had been deposited ; and he unguardedly disclosed that he had a similar design upon Portsmouth. But the parliament anticipated or thwarted all these schemes. He had now retired from London, where the mob and the parliament together had at length rendered it impossible for him to live longer. He fixed his residence at York, as a commanding point of rendezvous for his friends ; and on the 25th of August, 1642, after many vain attempts at negotiation had been made on both sides, he set up his standard at Nottingham ; " the open signal," as Hume expresses it, " of discord and civil war throughout the kingdom."

At this crisis, Scotland stood in a perfectly neutral situation. It owed, indeed, great obligations to the English parliament, which had not only bestowed upon it a direct douceur of money, but, by pressing upon the king, compelled him to gratify it in all its religious and political desires. Yet the king had been their last benefactor ; and, with whatever reluctance or hollowness of intention he might be supposed to have conferred his favours, he had certainly a right to expect from the country an obedience which he had regularly purchased. The affections of the people were, per-

haps, equally balanced between both parties. The cause of the parliament was in some measure identified with one they themselves had recently entertained, was the cause of civil liberty, and was supposed to involve their favourite point,—the destruction of the hierarchy; that of the king appealed to their ancient feelings of loyalty, which were then, and have ever since continued, very strong. It only remained to be seen whether their fears for the security of their religion would make them incline to the parliament, or their anxiety for the honour of the crown would sway them towards the king.

It is probable that, if the king had been unsuccessful in his first conflicts with the parliamentary forces, the Scots would have been urged, by their affection for him, and for the abstract spirit of monarchy, to fly to his relief. It seems to have been the good fortune which attended him in his first campaigns that chiefly determined them in the opposite course. His forces, during the first twelvemonth of the war, behaved with so much spirit and gallantry, that he was victorious in almost every action. At the end of that period, (about July 1643,) the whole of the west and north of England was reduced under his authority, and the forces of the parliament were so much broken, that, if he had marched forward to London at once, it was supposed that the turbulent senators of Westminster would have come out to submit to him with ropes about their necks. When the Scots saw him so nearly triumphant, they trembled lest, becoming more powerful than ever by the suppressed rebellion, he would retract all the concessions they had wrung from him in his evil days, and perhaps even punish them for the opposition they had so long shown to his will. The Scots

thus became actuated by the same principle of self-preservation which so mainly inspired the English parliament; and, although it was certainly wrong in point of morals, as well as of honour, to break through a treaty for fear the king should afterwards annul it—in other words, knock down an unoffending person to prevent the possibility of his afterwards knocking down them—it seems to have been, all circumstances considered, the only course of action which they could prudently pursue.

They did not, however, consent to succour the parliament, without making certain stipulations for benefits which they considered a necessary payment or solatium for the wound they thereby inflicted on their own honour. In the first place, they were assured that, in the event of their united party being successful, the Presbyterian system of worship should be introduced into England, to the total and eternal exclusion of the detested hierarchy. In the second, the army which they should raise was to be paid by the English parliament, at the sumptuous rate of sixpence a-day for every foot soldier, and one shilling for each horseman. As if to give assurance of the sincerity of the parliament in the first and most important stipulation, an assembly of divines, similar to the Scottish General Assembly, was called to meet at Westminster; and the whole of the treaty was solemnly ratified, sworn to, and subscribed by the people of both kingdoms, under the denomination of "The Solemn League and Covenant." The Independents of England, who contemplated a general toleration throughout the kingdom, and not the institution of any particular form, were greatly averse to this treaty; but they were conciliated by an

ambiguity of phrase in the bond, which left the designed uniformity in the churches of the two kingdoms a matter of future discussion. The Scots, for their part, in their blind attachment to the Presbyterian system, never dreamt that the English puritans, in proposing to renounce the Episcopalian formula, contemplated the substitution of any other than its natural opposite, the model of Geneva and of Scotland. Both nations thus acted with baseness; the Scots, in breaking through a solemn treaty for the purpose of procuring additional security to their church, and extending it over England; the English, in holding out a promise which they did not intend to fulfil in its understood sense. It might be said of the two great national parties, that, in the long war which they had carried on against the Catholic religion, they had, like the Romans of old, at length found it best to fight it with its own weapons;—they had found that it could be opposed with no weapon to such advantage as with *Jesuitism*.

The king did what he could to retain the Scots in their obedience; and he was even so far successful, at first, as to get them to print his declaration for the use of the public, instead of one which had been sent by the parliament. But all that the royalists and moderates could do in his behalf, was nothing to what the clergy and the turbulent achieved in favour of parliament. The former, in particular, by their violent prelections to the people, were peculiarly influential; and, indeed, it may be said that almost the whole disgrace of this infamous treaty lies with the clergy.

It was finally determined by an unlawful Convention of Estates, which met in summer 1643,⁷ that an army of twenty-one thousand horse and foot

should be raised for the assistance of the English parliamentary forces ; and such was the enthusiasm with which the people entered into the views of their leaders, that they willingly marched in the very depth of winter, when, at one part of the road (that betwixt Dunbar and Berwick) they had to wade up to the knees in snow. Their accession to the English insurgents very soon turned the scale against the king. They effectually arrested for the time the progress which he was making in the reduction of the kingdom ; and in the battle of Longmarston moor, which was fought July 1644, they contributed greatly to that decisive overthrow of his forces, which so effectually crippled all his subsequent exertions, and was the proximate cause of his eventually falling into the hands of the parliament.

CHAPTER XIII.

BATTLE OF TIPPERMUIR.

I do not think a braver gentleman,
More daring, or more bold, is now alive,
To grace this latter age with noble deeds.

SHAKESPEARE.

THE time had now arrived when the royalist party of Scotland, hitherto so obscure and to all appearance so inconsiderable, was at length to raise, against the clamours of the party so long dominant, its terrible war-cry of "God and the King."

During the first twelvemonth of the civil war, while the Scots were apparently inclined to preserve the neutrality which Charles had bargained for, he received frequent assurances from his zealous friend Montrose, of the intention which they in reality entertained to enter into a league with his enemies. Being, however, at that time confident of success in either event, and perhaps not unwilling that they should forfeit by their own deliberate rebellion the privileges which he had bestowed upon them, he had constantly declined the offer which Montrose made, to raise and head the royalist party, by way of anticipating and preventing the rise of the other. Although they might

choose, he said, to design a violation of the solemn compact he had made with them, and, under the pretence of securing religion, let slip all the principles of honour and good faith, he conceived that he was not justifiable in taking any steps against them, except such as were honestly consistent with the treaty and with his own honour. To take such steps, he alleged, would be to commit the very crime which he wished to prevent them from committing. He was confirmed in his resolution by the Marquis of Hamilton, who, from a vain desire to postpone the evil moment of war, professed to disbelieve that his countrymen had any such intention as was imputed to them. It would also appear that Charles at this time did not consider Montrose a fit person to be intrusted with the management of such an enterprise; fickleness and vanity being the only qualities which this young nobleman had as yet displayed, while his great military talents still lay "like metals in a mine."

It was not till December 1643, when the Scottish army was on the point of marching against him, that the king at length listened seriously to Montrose's proposals. A plan was then laid at Oxford for a rising in Scotland, which should produce a diversion in his favour. Montrose was to be its commander, although, nominally, to prevent the jealousy of his associates, he was only to be entitled lieutenant-general under the king's nephew, Prince Maurice. The Earl of Antrim, a powerful Irish nobleman then residing with the king, was to send over to the coast of Scotland two thousand of his retainers. Montrose was to be ready to put himself at their head, and to join to them the body of loyalists which he should previously have raised in Scotland. The campaign was to be

opened in the beginning of April, 1644; and, in the meantime, measures were to be taken for importing a supply of arms and ammunition from the Continent, and for begging a small auxiliary force from Charles's kinsman, the King of Denmark.

When the time came for putting this scheme into execution, Montrose, armed with the royal commission, and raised to the rank of marquis, left Oxford at the head of about an hundred cavaliers, chiefly his personal friends; and, having procured a small band of militia in passing through the northern counties, he entered Scotland on the 13th of April, 1644. He was deserted at Annan by all his English auxiliaries, who esteemed it next to madness to brave a nation which possessed at almost every town a force equal to theirs. Yet he resolutely pushed on with his horse to Dumfries, where, having erected his standard, he proposed to wait till he should receive intelligence of the landing of the Irish. Only two days, however, had elapsed before the preparations made by the Covenanters to seize him and his small band, obliged him to retreat to Carlisle.

This want of success in the very beginning of his enterprise, with the non-appearance of the Irish, seems to have convinced the chief royalists in England of what they had previously been disposed to believe, that the project of a diversion in Scotland was utterly impracticable; and for some time Montrose appears to have been regarded by them as merely a well-meaning but wrong-headed enthusiast. He applied to Prince Rupert for a thousand horse, with which he swore he would cut his way through all that Scotland could bring to oppose him; but, although that aid was promised, it was never given. Even his nearest

friends, appalled by the reports which reached them of the formidable state of things in the north, began to melt from his side ; and he was universally advised to resign his commission, and wait for some more favourable opportunity.

The dangers which he proposed to encounter in his expedition were certainly sufficient to appal any ordinary heart. The Committee of Estates had innumerable bodies of militia at their disposal, with which they were prepared to intercept him at every pass. They had, indeed, several little armies perpetually scouring up and down the country to keep the royalists in subjection. They were armed with the whole powers of the law, and also of the church. With the one they had just sent to the block Sir George Gordon of Haddo and Captain Logie, two gentlemen whom they had seized after an abortive insurrection in Aberdeenshire ; and with the other they had fulminated out against Montrose and all who should assist him, sentences of excommunication, or outlawry,¹ which were not to be taken off, even upon the most abject submission, till the parties were on their deathbeds. In short, all the terrors of civil and religious tyranny were displayed by the Covenanters before the eyes of this gallant nobleman, with the view of deterring him from his proposed enterprise against them.

Powerful, however, as these things might be in shaking minds of an ordinary degree of courage, they had no effect upon the indomitable spirit of Montrose. At this very period of peculiar gloom, when even his bravest friends were deserting him, he formed a resolution the most daring and romantic that could well be conceived ; to pass alone and incognito into Scotland, to put himself, if pos-

sible, at the head of his expected Irishmen, and, at whatever hazard, to appear in arms for the king, against his traitorous and fanatical enemies.

He was journeying from the north of England to Oxford, for the avowed purpose of resigning his commission and remaining adherents into the hands of the king, when he conceived this strange resolution. He had sent the most of his retinue on before, and he himself travelled, in melancholy fashion, in his carriage, with only a few very faithful and zealous friends in immediate attendance. When he had made up his mind to the enterprise, he disclosed it to these friends; and it was immediately concerted, that, while Lord Ogilvie and some others went forward with his equipage, to support the popular notion that he was still travelling to Oxford, he and Sir William Rollo, with Colonel Sibbald, should leave the party, in disguise, and proceed to invade the kingdom of Scotland.

This project was immediately put into execution. Mounted on a little nag, in the habit of a groom, and leading a spare horse in his hand, Montrose rode behind his two friends, in the capacity of their servant, and soon retraced his steps to the frontier. Lord Ogilvie, to perform his part of the *ruse*, accompanied his equipage, servants, and friends on the way to Oxford, where he was to explain to the king the cause of Montrose's disappearance, and to entreat a small band of English for his assistance. Unfortunately, his lordship was intercepted and taken by a party of the parliamentary forces, along with the rest of the company, and thus was prevented not only from fulfilling his mission to the king, but also from afterwards joining the career of victory which Montrose soon after entered upon.

That personage left Carlisle on the 18th of August, having previously given instructions to a few friends there to propagate and keep up the report that he had gone to Oxford, and that he no longer entertained hostile intentions against the Scottish Covenanters. He crossed the Border in safety, notwithstanding that a Sir Richard Graham, who was acquainted with his person, patrolled the district in all directions with a party of observation. The only peril which he encountered, was from a soldier who had served under the Marquis of Newcastle in England, and who recognised his person even under his disguise. This man, on coming up, saluted him by name. Montrose endeavoured to wave the compliment, and affected not to know what he meant; when the soldier exclaimed, "What! do I not know my lord Marquis of Montrose well enough?" adding, however, immediately after, "But go your way, and God be with you." The detected general thought it more advisable to acknowledge himself, and endeavour to engage the man to silence, than to permit him to go away unresolved, and alarm the country with his conjectures. He therefore received his obeisance, and, giving him a sum of money, requested that he would not speak of what he had seen till he should hear of other people having seen him. The man received the money, and promised to preserve the secret, which it afterwards appeared he did with great faithfulness.²

After four days of very rapid and very dangerous travelling, the little party reached the house of Tullibeltoun in Perthshire, the seat of Patrick Graham of Inchbrakie, who was at once a clansman, a cousin, and a political and personal friend of Montrose. He was here in the very centre of

a wide district of friends, whom he expected to rise along with him, or who he was at least assured would not betray him. On the one hand lay the Highlands, to which he could retire on any sudden alarm ; on the other, the Lowlands, upon which he expected soon to descend with resistless violence. Here therefore he resolved to stay till such time as the materials of insurrection should be organized, and the proper opportunity occur for bringing them into play. To further this object, he sent his two friends abroad with letters to the chief loyalists of the neighbourhood, and with instructions to inquire into the present defences of the country. In the meantime, preserving his humble disguise, he generally spent the night in a solitary cottage at some distance from the castle, and the day in the neighbouring hills.

His friends soon returned with intelligence ; but it was of the most discouraging sort. Not one person to whom they had applied, seemed either able or willing to join in the proposed enterprise. Many, for either refusing to subscribe the Solemn League and Covenant, or for having attempted resistance to it, were already disabled by fines and imprisonment. The Marquis of Huntly, upon whose assistance, notwithstanding what had formerly fallen out between them, he placed great reliance, had just been defeated in a sort of rebellion which he raised in Aberdeenshire, and had fled for the safety of his person to Strathnaver, the most northerly verge of Scotland. The whole country, at least all the Lowland part of it, lay prostrate beneath the monstrous tyranny which the rebel government had instituted ; and even the most zealous cavaliers were obliged to give into the all-prevailing insanity of the period, and support the sacred

cause either with personal or with pecuniary assistance.

To counterbalance this distressing information, a report immediately after came down from the Highlands, that a body of Irish had landed on the west coast, and were wandering slowly forward through the district of Badenoch. Presently, a letter was handed by a Highland friend to the Laird of Inchbrakie, accompanied with a request that he would endeavour to get it sent to the Marquis of Montrose, wherever he might be. It was from Alexander Macdonald, a gentleman of the Hebrides, who had been put by the Marquis of Antrim at the head of his retainers ; and it contained a request that the Marquis of Montrose would hasten to him with all speed, to assume the command of his little force. These Irish had already met with some perilous adventures. They had landed about a month before, in the sound of Mull,³ had immediately besieged the castles of Kinloch Alan, and Meigary, which they took and garrisoned ; then they had sailed for the mainland, and disembarked in the country called Kuoydart, where they endeavoured to raise some of the Highland clans. While lying there, two or three ships of war, which the Marquis of Argyle sent round from Leith to attack them, came up to their vessels, which were anchored in an arm of the sea called Loch Eishord, and a naval fight ensued, the result of which was, that the Irish vessels were taken or destroyed. Thus deprived of the means of leaving the country, and with a strong party which Argyle had raised hanging upon their rear, they were reduced to the desperate alternative of proceeding into the interior, and endeavouring to strengthen themselves by accessions from the loyal

clans. None of the Highland gentlemen, however, would consent to appear under a man of Macdonald's rank,⁴ even although he was endowed with the royal commission; and the party was really in a situation of the most urgent danger, when Montrose received the letter informing him of their arrival.⁵

He instantly dispatched an answer, as from Carlisle, in which he ordered them to march down to Blair of Athole, where he should be ready to meet them on a certain day, not far distant. He chose this particular place for the rendezvous, because the neighbouring country was filled with a people who had continued all along faithful to the royal cause, and of whose assistance he was therefore almost sure. The Athole Highlanders, it will be recollected, had assembled in 1640, under their Earl, at the Ford of Lyon, where they were only prevented from giving battle to the Covenanting party under Argyle, by the treacherous seizure which that nobleman made of their leaders. Exasperated by this circumstance against the Covenant and all its adherents, they had ever since continued faithful to the king, and they were now, as Montrose calculated, in every respect ready to take up arms in his behalf.

The general opinion which the Lowlanders of this period entertained regarding their upland neighbours, was not very respectful. A Covenanting wit, in a poem which he wrote against the bishops only a few years before, says of one whose extraction was from the other side of the Grampians,

"A bishop and a Highlandman, how can'st thou honest be?"

as if these two qualifications were of themselves

sufficient, without any known vice, to put a man completely beyond the pale of virtue. It seems, indeed, to have been a general belief at the time, that this primitive and sequestered people, as they were avowedly out of the saving circle of the Covenant, were also out of the limits of both law and religion, and therefore hopelessly and utterly given up to all sorts of wickedness. Not only were murder and robbery among the list of offences which they were accused of daily committing, but there even seems to have been a popular idea that sorcery was a prevailing crime amongst them. They were also charged with a general inclination to Popery, an offence which, from the alarms and superstitions of the time, had now come, in general phraseology, to signify a condensation of all others. Along with this horrible notion of the mountaineers, there was not associated the slightest idea of their ardent and chivalrous character ; nor was there any general sensation of terror for the power which they undoubtedly possessed of annoying the peaceful inhabitants, and thwarting the policy of the Low Country, no considerable body of Highlanders having been there seen in arms for several generations.

Montrose was now to exemplify, by one brief but brilliant campaign, the qualifications which this nation possess to so extraordinary a degree for competing in arms with a people of more civilized manners. On the day which he had appointed for meeting the Irish, he travelled from Tallibelton to Blair, attended only by the Laird of Inchbrakie ; both assuming, from necessity, the garb of ordinary Highlanders, and performing the journey on foot. To his great joy, he found the Irish, to the amount of about twelve hundred, al-

ready quartered at Blair. They had now been joined by several small bodies of Highlanders ; and the men of Athole, who, of all others they had yet seen, were most zealously inclined to their cause, seemed almost on the point of rising *en masse* in their favour. When Montrose presented himself to them, they could scarcely believe that he was what he represented himself, even although he displayed the commission he had received from the king to be their lieutenant-general. But the Highlanders, who knew his person, and were fondly attached to him, soon put the point beyond a question by their warm demonstrations of respect and affection ; and he was then hailed by his little army, which had hitherto been in the greatest danger from the enemy, rather as a guardian angel, who had descended from heaven to their succour, than as a mere mortal commander.

It was no sooner known in the country that Montrose was at Blair, and that he was organizing an army, than the whole of the Athole Highlanders, including the Stuarts, Robertsons, and other smaller clans, to the amount of about eight hundred, flocked to his standard. Having thus upwards of two thousand men, he thought it expedient to descend at once upon the Lowlands, where he knew there was nothing to oppose him, except a crude militia, which had just been drawn from the ranks of the common people, and chiefly from the unwarlike townsmen of Fife and Stratherne. He judged this to be the best course he could pursue under the circumstances, as there was a probability that, if he waited two or three days longer, he might be attacked in rear by Argyle, who was in hot pursuit of the Irish through the Highlands, or

due that that army might join the other, and thus present a force which he could not venture to meet.

Leaving Blair, therefore, the very day after he had reached it, he led his army across the hills in a southerly direction, towards Stratherne, where, as he had many friends, he expected some reinforcements. As he passed by Weem Castle, the seat of the clan Menzies, he thought proper to burn and ravage the neighbouring lands, in revenge for the severe treatment given by this family to one of his messengers, and for their having attacked a party of his forces, as well as to strike a salutary terror into all such as, like them, might be disposed to offer him violence. Next day, as an advanced party of his army was proceeding through Glen Almond, they were startled at the sight of a large body of men which appeared in their front, drawn up upon the hill of Buckinty. The Laird of Inchbrakie, who commanded this advanced party, immediately dispatched intelligence of what he saw to Montrose, who made all possible haste to bring up the main body to the spot. He soon learned that this party consisted of the men of the neighbouring district of Menteith, and that, having been raised at the command of the Committee of Estates at Edinburgh, they were now marching towards the general rendezvous at Perth, under the command of Lord Kilpont, eldest son of the Earl of Menteith. He marched up to them without delay, intending to overpower them if they should refuse to join him. But at his approach Lord Kilpont sent a party of officers to treat, and it was soon agreed that they should all assume a place under the royal standard. The greater part of these men were

Highlanders, and being officered in general by gentlemen of Montrose's own family, or of the kindred clan Drummond, they promised to be a valuable accession to his force.

With an army thus increased to about three thousand, Montrose thought he might safely venture against the Covenanting militia at Perth. This body consisted of six thousand foot, and seven hundred horse, and was provided with four pieces of artillery. It was commanded by Lord Elcho, son of the Earl of Wemyss, a nobleman of the district ; and among the inferior officers were many of the gentry of Perthshire and Fife. Montrose, to oppose so numerous and well-appointed a force, had only half the number of foot, and not a single horse, except two for his own use, and one which was ridden by Sir William Rollock ;⁶ nor had he any artillery. Yet, as his twelve hundred Irish were all soldiers of some experience, many of them having even served in Flanders, and as his Highlanders were, to a man, as bold and keen as lions, he promised to stand a much fairer chance in the field than was to be augured from his comparative numbers. Fortunately, he was not exactly aware of the immense advantage which the enemy had over him in that respect, their force having been increased to the amount described, since his informant had left their leaguer.

Resolving, then, to come to an engagement as soon as possible, he continued his march all night towards Perth, intending to fall upon it next morning by surprise, and attempt to drive out the Covenanters. Lord Elcho, however, on hearing of his near approach, had thought proper to draw out his men in front of the town, for the purpose of hazarding a battle in its defence ; and, in crossing

Tippermuir, a wild piece of ground about five miles west from the town, Montrose was compelled, by the appearance of the enemy, to halt and draw up his men. About mid-day, the preparations for battle were completed on both sides.

Lord Elcho's army was drawn out in one long line, with horse at either end, for the purpose of enclosing the small bands of Montrose, and he himself led on the right wing, while Sir James Scott of Rossie commanded the left, and the Earl of Tulliebardine the main body. The army, says Baillie, was *deficient in officers and ministers*; Sir James Scott being almost the only person present who had seen service, while there was only one clergyman of any efficacy in the whole camp. This last personage, however, in a sermon which he delivered upon the ground, (for it was Sunday,) had greatly raised the spirits of the devout soldiers of the Covenant, by declaring, that "if ever God spake word of truth out of his mouth, he could assure them, in the Holy name, of a complete victory."

Montrose, to prevent the long-extended line of the enemy from enclosing him, drew out his little army also in one line, and that only three men deep. He placed the Irish in the centre, to oppose the foot of the enemy, and a strong body of Highlanders at each wing to meet the horse; judging the former, who were armed only with muskets, to be less likely to resist cavalry with effect, than the Highlanders, who had swords, Lochaber-axes, or long and deadly clubs. He placed himself upon the right wing, in preference to any other part of his army, because he apprehended less difficulty in meeting Lord Elcho and Tulliebardine, who were understood to be but raw

soldiers, than in opposing Sir James Scott, the commander of the enemy's left wing, who had served a long time with distinction under the state of Venice.

When the arrangements for battle were completed, he sent out a gentleman of the name of Drummond, the eldest son of Lord Maderty, to give the rebels, as he considered them, a last chance of submitting without bloodshed to the royal authority vested in his person. This gentleman's message bore, that "Montrose, like the king from whom he derived his authority, had the strongest possible disinclination to shed his country's blood, and prayed to God for nothing more earnestly than that his victories might be written without a red letter. Such a victory they (the Covenanters) might obtain as well as he, if they would but please to conquer themselves and return to their allegiance. For his part, he was covetous of no man's wealth, ambitious of no man's honour, envious at no man's preferment, thirsty after no man's blood. All that he desired was that, in the name of God, they would at length give ear to sound counsel, and submit themselves to the grace and protection of their king; who, as he had already conceded to them all that they thought good to ask, both in respect of religion and civil government, though to the infinite prejudice of his prerogative, so still they might find him an indulgent father, ready, notwithstanding all his unspeakable injuries, to embrace them in his arms. If, after this solemn appeal, they should resolve to continue still obstinate in their rebellion, he called God to witness that it was their own stubbornness which forced him to this encounter." The Covenanters, instead of listening with any respect to this mes-

sage, expressed their contempt of him who had sent it, by seizing the messenger, and sending him under a guard to Perth, where he was informed he should be executed for his disobedience to the cause of the Covenant, after the battle was over.⁷

The royal general then prepared for the conflict which he saw to be inevitable. The Irish having only one shot a-piece for their muskets, he commanded that they should reserve it till they were at the very muzzles of the enemy, and then fire it instantaneously, the front rank kneeling, the second stooping, and the third standing upright; so that as strong an impression as possible might be made upon the enemy at once; after which they must trust, for a completion of the victory, to the but-ends of their pieces, or to such other weapons as they could take from the hands of their opponents. To a great body of Highlanders, who had no weapons at all, he gave similar orders: "Gentlemen," said he, "it is true you have no arms; your enemies, however, to all appearance, have plenty. My advice therefore is, that, as there happens to be a great abundance of stones upon this moor, every man should provide himself, in the first place, with as stout a one as he can well manage, rush up to the first Covenanter he meets, beat out his brains, take his sword, and then, I believe, he will be at no loss how to proceed."⁸ These orders, which in any other circumstances, or to any other description of soldiers, would have been esteemed as only ridiculous, were received by the men to whom they were addressed with expressions of the utmost satisfaction; and there appeared throughout the whole army an eagerness to engage, and a confidence of success, which seemed likely to beget the very conclusion it anticipated.

It was betwixt twelve and one o'clock, the hottest period of a very hot day, (September 3, 1644,) when the fight commenced. The first movement was made by the Covenanters. Lord Elcho, thinking it necessary to provoke an attack from Montrose, sent out a small forlorn party, under the command of Lord Drummond, to annoy and if possible confuse the enemy, who he judged would then leave their ranks, and fall an easy prey to his long-extended flanks of horse. Unfortunately for his calculation, Lord Drummond and his men, not being very well affected to the cause they had been called to fight for, yielded at once to the attack of a body which Montrose detached to meet them, and thus gave quite a different turn to the fortune of the day. When the raw Covenanters saw them flying, they also prepared or began to fly. Montrose, on the other hand, receiving fresh encouragement from the circumstance, and judging that it afforded a good opportunity for making a general attack, instantly caused the whole of his army to advance. The Covenanters discharged their artillery, and the horse made one attempt to dash forward, and perform what was expected of them in regard to Montrose's flanks. But a panic had already spread through nearly the whole army, and the greater part had taken to actual flight before the royalist troops came up. Upon those which remained, the Irish, according to order, discharged one close and well-directed volley of musketry, and then dashed forward, with their pieces poised club-wise in the air, or else with stones which they picked up from the ground. The Highlanders, with equal resolution, assailed the horse and infantry opposed to them, using either their broadswords and Lochaber axes, or, as Montrose had

directed; the stones which lay around. The whole of the Lowland army then gave way, and sought a disgraceful refuge in flight; except a party of musketeers under Sir James Scott, who, throwing themselves into the ruins of a few houses upon the top of a neighbouring piece of rising ground, fired incessantly and steadily for some time upon every party which approached. Montrose was at last only able to carry this point, by dashing upon it in person at the head of the brave Atholemen; a body of men constituting the flower of his army, and whom he had chosen to take under his own immediate command.

In the battle, brief as it had thus been, scarcely a dozen men were killed. It was only in the flight which followed, that the carnage took place, for which this fight was so memorable. Betwixt the battle-field and the town of Perth, to which the flight was chiefly directed, it is stated by the most credible authorities, that nearly four hundred persons were killed, including the young Laird of Reires in Fife, Patrick Oliphant younger of Bachilton, George Haliburton of Keilor in Angus, David Grant, captain for the burgh of Perth, and many other persons of local consequence.⁹ The slaughter was particularly great among the townsmen of Fife, who, although they had been the first to fly, were by no means the cleverest in flight; many of them being men of such grossness of body, as to burst with fatigue, and so die without stroke of sword.¹⁰ Of the single town of St Andrews, twenty-five householders perished. The horse alone succeeded in achieving an unannoyed retreat; though it is probable, had Montrose had cavalry, the greater part of them would have been

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CHAPTER XIV.

BATTLES OF ABERDEEN AND FYVIE.

'Tis ours by craft and by surprise to gain ;
 'Tis yours to meet in arms, and battle on the plain.

PRIOR.

MONTROSE spent three days at Perth, in the expectation of assistance from the well-affected gentlemen of the neighbourhood, who, he calculated, would now venture to break with the Covenanting government, by which they had hitherto been held in such restraint and terror. He was accordingly joined by Lords Dupplin and Spynie, and by some gentlemen of the Carse of Gowrie, each with a small band of armed retainers. As yet, however, the most of those who would have been inclined to rank under his standard, were too much depressed by the religious tyranny which had so long prevailed, to be either able or willing to make an open declaration in his favour.

With the small accessions which he had procured, he left Perth on the 4th of September, and, crossing over the Tay, directed his course towards Forfarshire and Aberdeenshire, where he hoped to raise a number of loyal clans, and especially the Ogilvies and the Gordons. He halted the first night in the open fields near Collace, where next

also cut off, as well as a much greater number of the foot.

Montrose had not a single man killed in the battle of Tippermuir ; perhaps the only instance of such a thing on record ; nor had he above two wounded. Among the advantages of his victory, besides the mere severity of the blow he had given the enemy, might be reckoned his seizure of their baggage and arms, which enabled him to equip his own forces with the very articles of which they had hitherto been chiefly in need. He had now only to take possession of the wealthy town of Perth,¹¹ in order to complete his equipments by a supply of money.

He accomplished this feat in the very evening of his victory ; the wreck of the army which had fallen back upon the town, being quite unable to hold it out against him. The terms upon which it surrendered were, that it should be without prejudice to the Covenant, that the citizens should be exempt from plundering, so long as they lived as the king's loyal subjects, and that the victors should have free quarter for four days.¹² Montrose found in the town eight hundred of the Fife Covenanters, whom he put into confinement in the church of St John ; and he immediately ordered a subsidy to be raised by the citizens to the extent of nine thousand merks.¹³

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morning an event occurred of a very distressing nature. In the grey of the dawn, before the sounding of the *réveille*, an alarm arose in the bivouack, that Lord Kilpont had been assassinated, and was now lying weltering in his blood. Montrose, on rushing to the spot, found it to be too true. This young nobleman had slept in the same bed with a Highland gentleman, James Stuart of Ardvoirlich, whose friend he had been from early youth. Stuart, who was a man of ungovernable passions, had requested him, early in the morning, to walk out, that they might commune together upon a subject which nearly concerned both. When they were alone, and at a little distance from the camp, he disclosed to Kilpont a project for assassinating the Marquis of Montrose, and then flying to the Covenanters, who would be sure to reward them well for so valuable a piece of service. The young nobleman expressed the utmost horror at the proposal, and perhaps also used some severe language in remonstrating against it, when Stuart, either provoked by his words, or afraid lest he should denounce him to Montrose, pulled out his dirk, and at once stabbed him to the heart. He then immediately rushed forth, brandishing the bloody poniard in his hand, after the fashion of the Malays; a sentinel whom he crossed in his path, and who endeavoured to intercept him, he prostrated by one stroke of the weapon; and he was then lost in the mist, which happened that morning to be so dense, that it was impossible for the keenest eyesight to see a pike's length through it.

Montrose deplored this unfortunate incident with the keenest sorrow; for Kilpont was not only his kinsman and friend, but his death would be likely

to occasion a general desertion of his numerous and valuable retainers. The Covenanters rejoiced over it with proportionate exultation, not even scrupling to receive and promote into their service the wretched man who had perpetrated the deed. It seems to be one of the evils of civil discord, that the principles of honourable warfare are sure to be lost sight of in the exigencies of the time. This is the second instance of assassination, attempted or executed, which has been recorded in these pages; and it is certainly a most remarkable proof of the obliquity of the moral sense of the party, that Baillie, one of the most gentle and amiable of their number, speaks somewhere of the death of Kilpont as "*justly inflicted*."¹

Montrose now altered his course a little, and fell down upon Dundee, the wealth of which promised even a better prize than Perth. But Argyle was by this time fast coming up behind him, and the citizens, on being summoned to surrender, resolved to hold out till relieved by that general. Montrose, on the other hand, saw that, even if he should sit down to besiege the town, Argyle would probably beat him up before he should be able to capture it, or else would perhaps take advantage of his thus lying aside, to form a junction with the army mustering against him at Aberdeen. Seeing it necessary, therefore, to accomplish his original intention of marching northward, and raising the Aberdeenshire loyalists, before coming to a collision with Argyle, he suddenly quitted the environs of Dundee, and directed his route through Angus. In the course of this march, he was joined by the venerable Earl of Airly, with his two sons, Sir Thomas and Sir David Ogilvy, as well as by a considerable portion of the minor gentlemen and

retainers of this loyal clan. Several other gentlemen of Angus and Aberdeenshire here flocked to his standard; but although his army was thus increased in one respect, it was decreased in another, many of the Athole Highlanders having gone home, according to their invariable custom after gaining a victory in the Lowlands, to deposit their spoil, while Lord Kilpont's men had, with scarcely any exception, retired in attendance upon the corpse of their master.

For some time past, the provincial committee of Aberdeen, under the direction of Lord Burleigh, had been doing all they could to possess themselves of the strength of the northern loyalists, so as to be able to turn against Montrose the very men whose services he was calculating upon for himself. They had one regular regiment, that of Lord Elcho, besides some other dispersed soldiers, chiefly fugitives from Tippermuir; a force which, with the Covenanting clans of Forbes and Fraser, who served willingly, and the citizens of Aberdeen, the Gordons, and others, who were pressed into the service, altogether amounted to about two thousand five hundred foot, and five hundred horse. This army was well provided in cannon, and had some defences upon the landward side of Aberdeen, which were calculated to be of much service to them in case of their being attacked.

Montrose, though attended by little more than fifteen hundred foot, and by only four-and-forty horse, was obliged to adopt the resolution of immediately attacking this superior force. He found, on his approach to the river Dee, which may be said to form the great defence of the city, that the bridge was defended; but he turned aside to the west, and crossed the river by a ford at the Mills.

of Drām. Then descending upon Aberdeen, he arrived, September 11, at a place called the Two Mile Cross, within half an hour's march of the city, where, finding Lord Burleigh's army drawn out to receive him, he prepared for battle on the ensuing day.

On the morning of the 12th, before either army was ready to engage, Montrose dispatched a drummer to beat a parley, with a commissioner, who was empowered to deliver a letter to the magistrates of the city. The letter was received by those to whom it was directed, as they were marching out with their troops, and being immediately read, it was found to contain a command on the part of Montrose, as the royal lieutenant, that they should submit themselves and the town to his authority, with the alternative of "removing all their old men, women, and children out of the way, and standing to their peril."² As the officers of the Covenanting committee were present at the reading of the letter, and were for the time paramount over the magistrates, it was of course determined, without a moment's hesitation, that no answer should be returned, but that they should defend themselves as they best might against the demands of the common enemy. They therefore drew out their forces opposite to those of the royal general, over whom it afterwards appeared they happened to have an advantage in point of situation.

There were some circumstances connected with the parties now marshalled against each other, which cannot fail to strike the mind of the reader, as strongly characteristic of a period of civil dissension. Montrose, who was now advancing against Aberdeen for the purpose of compelling its obe-

dience to the king by the sword, had, only four or five years before, twice approached it with the resolution of employing the same measures to subject it to the domination of the Covenant. The magistrates and citizens, who were then inclined to hold out against him in favour of distressed royalty, and whom he was only able to break to his purpose by employing the harshest means of compulsion, were now opposed to him for an object quite the contrary of what they had previously entertained, the protection of the laws and religion of the Covenant. Formerly, he had been for the Covenant, they for the king; he was now for the king, they for the Covenant. Nor did the wonder stop here. The clan Gordon, formerly so Catholic and so loyal, and which Montrose had used such severe measures in reducing to an acquiescence in the Covenant, was now brought out *to defend the same Covenant against him*; it was headed by Lord Lewis Gordon, (third son of the Marquis of Huntly,) a youth who, in 1639, had headed a brief insurrection in favour of quite the opposite principle, and who, it may be added, was soon to wheel once more to the side of loyalty by joining Montrose; and there was now in Montrose's army a Sir Nathaniel Gordon, who had already appeared in arms once on each side, who was now appearing in favour of the king, but who was soon after to appear again in behalf of the Covenant! Nothing could show more powerfully the difficulty with which men act when the ordinary landmarks of principle are covered by the raging tide of civil war, nor could any thing prove more distinctly how large a portion of the community at this dreadful time must have been always acting upon mere compulsion.

The disposition which Montrose made of his small and inadequate forces, was nearly similar to the arrangement which he had adopted at the battle of Tippermuir. The Irish constituted here, as they had done in the former field, the centre or main body of the single line in which he drew out his troops. As for the wings, he was obliged, on account of the absence of the Highlanders, to compose them partly out of the few horse he had, and partly of his best musketeers and archers, (for bows and arrows were among the weapons brought to the field by this singular host,) and these were extended as far as possible, with the view of preventing the numerous horse of the enemy from turning his flanks and falling upon his rear; a movement which, if they had been able to achieve it, must at once have decided the fate of the day. James Hay and Sir Nathaniel Gordon commanded the right of these wings, and Sir William Rollock the left; while he himself flew about everywhere, distinguished from other horsemen by his Highland coat and trews, to cheer, to direct, and follow up, every movement which he should see occasion to make, with whatever portion of his forces.

The battle did not commence till Montrose had received assurance of the intention of the magistrates to stand to their arms. He did not receive this intelligence from the messenger whom he had sent to deliver his summons. That person was unfortunately killed, probably in a scuffle with the regular soldiers, at a place called the Justice Mills, as he was returning from the magistrates to report the treatment which they had given to his letters.³ Montrose was exasperated to the highest degree by a circumstance which appeared at the moment, while as yet unexplained in all its particulars, a de-

liberate avowal on the part of the enemy that they were resolved to consider him and his army as beyond the pale of civilized warfare; and he immediately issued an order to his soldiers, that, in the conflict about to commence, they should allow no quarter, not even after victory should have unequivocally declared in their favour, but should, by killing all who fell into their power, at once take a revenge for the death of their fellow-soldier, and teach the enemy the necessity of giving them fair play for the future. Such an order must be lamented, as letting loose a band of ruthless soldiers upon the lives and property of a community of innocent and worthy citizens; but there can be no doubt as to the propriety of the principle upon which Montrose was acting.

The battle was commenced by the cannon of the enemy, which, being placed upon advantageous ground, immediately began to tell upon the royal forces, while the few pieces which Montrose had brought with him from Tippermuir, being situated on ground not favourable to their play, remained totally ineffective. Before the cannon had been long at work, the Covenanting general thought proper to dispatch his left wing of horse, which was commanded by Lord Lewis Gordon, against Montrose's right wing; his reason for selecting that point of attack being apparently no other than that the ground in that quarter was level, and therefore favourable for the evolutions of horse. Montrose no sooner saw the movement, than, calculating that the enemy's right wing could not approach him for some time, he transferred his own left wing to the support of his right, which otherwise, he saw, would be unable to sustain the shock of so superior a body of horse. His two wings, thus united, and

consisting of forty-four horse, and a number of footmen scattered through them, met the charge of Lord Lewis's three hundred cavaliers, with a dauntlessness not to have been hoped for, far less expected, from so ill-matched a party. They not only sustained, with an unshrinking front, the charge made upon them by the huge and heavy body of the enemy, but they immediately began to act upon the offensive also, to dart upon, cut down, and by every possible method annoy their opponents; and but a few minutes had elapsed, when the latter, fairly intimidated by the reception they had met with, wheeled about and retreated to the main army, leaving a great number of their body dead and wounded behind them. Montrose's brave little party was unable to pursue them without considerable risk; and it was well that they did not do so. Immediately on perceiving the retreat of his left wing, Lord Burleigh dispatched his right to attack the left of the enemy, which he saw to be unprotected for the moment by the manœuvre just described; and this weighty party was fast approaching, and was indeed on the point of turning that defenceless extremity of the royal army, when Montrose, whose attention was directed over all the field at once, saw the danger, and instantly obviated it by bringing up his united wings, and causing them to attack the advancing party, where they least expected an attack, in flank. Thus taken by surprise, the assailants, though as superior in numbers as Lord Lewis's party had been, only fought for a few minutes, before they also thought proper to fall back upon their main body. In the struggle, brief as it was, a considerable number of the Covenanters were killed, and Forbes of Craigievar, and Forbes of Boyndlie, were taken prisoners.

In these two skirmishes, the Highland footmen are allowed to have done great execution with their ponderous broadswords, and even with their bows and arrows. They were also very much praised for the nimbleness which they displayed in moving along with the horse; a nimbleness which could scarcely have been expected from any body of men but themselves, bred as they had been in so peculiar a manner from earliest youth, to run, unrestrained by either breeches or business, over their far-extending wildernesses and pathless hills. The Irish here also displayed a full share of those qualities which fit them to such a degree for the profession of arms; not only acting with vigour in the close and deadly struggle, but preserving throughout all that buoyancy of spirit and disregard of pain which seem to be so necessary for the support of the soldier through the dreadful circumstances which it is his fate to be surrounded with. An anecdote has been preserved regarding one of these gallant fellows, which is at once valuable as showing their spirit on the present occasion, and curious as a proof that the Irish national character was then precisely the same as at the present day. A cannon ball having shot off the leg of this brave man, so as only to leave it attached by a small piece of flesh or skin, and he perceiving that his comrades were somewhat affected at the sight, instead of showing the slightest symptom of vexation or pain himself, he cried out, "Never mind, my lads; if I can serve no more on foot, my lord marquis must just put me among the horse;" and deliberately pulling out a clasp-knife, he cut the limb fairly off, and handed it to a comrade "for burial with the rest of the dead."

The battle, however, was by no means decisively

gained. The two different wings of the Covenanting horse had been fairly repulsed. Yet they were not completely dispersed, or even dispirited. They had only fallen back to their original positions; and the battle in a great measure stood just where it was at the commencement. It was now deliberated by the Covenanting leaders, whether they should not renew the attack, mixing the horsemen with the foot in the manner which they saw had been attended with so much success on the part of the royalists; and they were perhaps about to adopt this project, when Montrose fortunately made a counter-resolution, which fairly neutralized it.

It being now obvious to the royal general, that his men were not so able, though perhaps equally willing, to sustain a charge, as at the commencement, he saw it to be the best expedient which remained for him, to make one general and energetic dash upon the enemy; in which case, he calculated, that, as they were already to a certain extent intimidated, and at the same time not very well inclined to the cause, they would be disposed to give way before his own twice victorious and highly animated troops. Riding up, therefore, to the front of his lines, he addressed them in a brief speech, to the effect that it was a mode of fighting totally unworthy of brave men, to stand still to be shot at by mechanical engines; that the only way for a brave man to distinguish himself, was to close hand to hand with his enemies, and put the issue entirely to a question of comparative manfulness; and that, seeing such was the case, he now recommended and wished them to fall upon the base rebels opposed to them, and each man give full scope to his own native valour, and the strength

of his own individual arm. The men whom he addressed, remembering Tippermuir, required nothing but permission from their leader to perform the bold movement which he described. It was, therefore, without a moment's hesitation that they now rushed simultaneously forward, and fell pell-mell upon the ranks of the enemy. The act was decisive. The horse of the Covenanters did not stop a moment for the defence of the foot, but fled rapidly off in different directions, leaving them fully exposed to the swift horse, and scarcely less swift footmen, who attacked them. The citizens of Aberdeen, and all the Frasers, and Forbeses, and Gordons, who, voluntarily or involuntarily, were there ranked up, turned in a moment before the flashing swords and poised firelocks of the advancing royalists; and in a few seconds the whole affair was converted into a route, the direction of which was towards the city of Aberdeen. The royalists, remembering the fate of their messenger, and Montrose's consequent license, cut down all they overtook without mercy; and even when they had entered the streets of the city, continued to destroy all whom they could see, not even excepting such of the citizens as might not have been engaged in the battle. A scene of slaughter and plunder, indeed, now took place, of a nature almost too horrible for recital.

To quote the simple but touching narrative of Spalding, who, as a citizen of Aberdeen, must have witnessed all he told, Montrose's men "hewed and cut all manner of men they could overtake within the town, upon the streets, or in their houses, or round about the town, as our men were flying, with broadswords, without mercy or remeid. When any one of these persons happened

to be well-clad, these cruel Irishes would first tirl [strip] him, to save his clothes unspoiled, and syne kill him. Montrose had promised them the plundering of the town, but he stayed not, but returned back from Aberdeen to the camp this same Friday night, leaving the Irishes killing, robbing, and plundering the town at their pleasure; and nothing that night but pitiful howling, crying, weeping, and mourning, through all the streets. This continued on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday. It is lamentable to hear how thir Irishes, who had gotten the spoil of the town, did abuse the same. The men they killed they would not suffer to be buried, but tirl'd their clothes off them, and syne left the naked bodies lying upon the ground. The wife durst not cry nor weep at her husband's slaughter before her eyes, nor the daughter for the father, which if they did, they were presently slain also."

Montrose accomplished this victory with the loss of a very few men, while of the Covenanters, on the other hand, there were several hundreds killed, including about one hundred and eighty of the citizens of Aberdeen. Yet few advantages accrued to him, besides the mere triumph, and the comparative safety which he now enjoyed, with only one instead of two armies to oppose him. He was completely disappointed, for one thing, in the expectation which he had entertained, that his appearance in the north, and his victory over the Aberdeen committee, would raise the Gordons in his favour. That clan was entirely paralyzed by the orders of their chief, the Marquis of Huntly, who, having a good cause of displeasure at Montrose personally, and considering that his appearance in Scotland as the royal lieutenant interfered with a

commission which he himself had procured, to be commander-in-chief over all the forces north of the Cairn-a-Mount, had not only resolved to give him no assistance, but had permitted his son, Lord Lewis, to join the common enemy against this particular one. Montrose marched with all haste, after the late battle, into the country of the Gordons; but, however willing as individuals to rank under his standard, they were obliged, by the superior law of clanship and tenantry, to remain inactive witnesses of his progress.

In the meantime, Argyle was moving as fast as his heavy baggage or his cowardice would permit him, through Perthshire and Angus, in reluctant quest of this terrible foe to the new government. His forces consisted of two or three thousand of his own Highlanders, two regular regiments of foot, (which had been recalled on purpose from England,) and no less than ten large troops of horse. Hitherto, he had taken care to be always at least two days and a half's march behind Montrose;⁵ but now, when a second victory had given additional terror to that nobleman's arms, he seems to have adopted even more cautious measures in regard to him. He did not arrive at Aberdeen till the 19th of September, the fourth or fifth day after Montrose had evacuated it; and his army did not move forward through the country, in continuation of the pursuit, for two or three days more. Yet, however averse this general might be to assail Montrose on the field, there were certain other modes of hostility which he had no disinclination to put in practice against him. He publicly proclaimed, in the name of the Convention of Estates, a reward of twenty thousand pounds to any person who should either seize or assassinate that

excommunicated traitor ; and he set a number of instruments at work, to draw away from him, by insidious means, the gentlemen who had marshalled themselves under his banner.

Montrose, unwilling to hazard all in a battle, and finding the Gordons determined against joining him, endeavoured, about the end of September, to cross over the Spey, in order that he might have that deep and rapid river betwixt him and Argyle. The people, however, who lived on the other side, hearing of the dreadful ravages which both armies had committed in Aberdeenshire, and anxious to prevent their own district from sharing a similar fate, assembled on the brink of the stream in great force, and, having drawn over all their boats, stood determined to oppose the passage of the royalists. Montrose then passed up along the bank of the stream a considerable way, and took as safe a position as he could find in the great forest of Abernethy. He might have spared himself all his perplexity. Argyle followed at a pace, which showed any thing rather than an intention to fight, only plundering and spoiling the lands of the disaffected Gordons in a style of unexampled cruelty ; insomuch, it is said, that there were not four persons of the name left in their houses, nor a four-footed beast spared, within the whole district. He mustered his men upon the 27th of September, at the Bog of Gicht, when they were found to amount to four thousand in number, yet he hesitated to engage an enemy who scarcely had a third of that numerical force, and who, on account of his comparative destitution of cavalry, might be considered as not possessing a fourth of their real strength.

The imprudence of thus delaying an engagement

was speedily shown. Montrose took the opportunity, afforded by it, to retire one evening up the course of the Spey into Badenoch, and so down into the country of Athole, dispatching, as he moved along, Alaster Macdonald, with a party of five hundred men, to raise a reinforcement among the western clans; and, almost ere Argyle was aware of his movement, he had once more penetrated into Angus, where he recruited both his purse and his army.

Argyle followed with his accustomed slowness upon almost the very track pursued by Montrose, but always six or eight days' march behind him. On his at length approaching Montrose at his quarters in Angus, that general once more went north, in the hope of raising the Gordons before Argyle should come up to terrify them, and in order that he might there receive the accessions of force which he expected Alaster Macdonald to bring from the Highlands. The result of this strange evolution was that, about the 20th of October, after a circuit of two or three hundred miles through the country, he lay upon nearly the same ground that he had occupied a month before, while Argyle's army was approaching him from the very same quarter. In the course of this march, Montrose had, with a generosity which gained admiration even from his enemies, liberated Sir William Forbes of Craigievar and John Forbes of Boydellie, the two gentlemen whom he had taken at the battle of Aberdeen, upon their mere parole, with the condition of their exerting themselves to procure the liberty of the young Laird of Drum from the Covenanters, and not to return in case of Montrose's enduring a defeat before the stipulated period.⁶ The magnitude of this favour can only be

sufficiently understood, when it is mentioned that at least one of the prisoners was a man of the greatest value to his party.

During the time which intervened between his arrival in Strabogie and Argyle's approach, Montrose employed his men in nightly enterprises against the disaffected; sending out little parties, not of horse, in which he was still much deficient, but of footmen; who, moving with prodigious swiftness through the country, attacked every band of Covenanters or of neutral persons they could encounter, and never failed to take them prisoners, and bring them in, man and horse, to the camp. This system both inflicted an infinite dread of his arms into the people of the district, and inspired his men with a feeling of confidence and enterprise, calculated to have a most favourable effect upon their general conduct.

When he had tried all arguments with the Gordons in vain, he gave them up, and retired from their country to the castle of Fyvie, which, upon the 24th of October, he took out of the hands of the enemy, and occupied with a garrison of his own men. He was lying there in calm expectation of Argyle's approach, but without being aware that he had yet crossed the Grampians or was within fifty miles of him, when suddenly the alarm was given that the enemy, having at length taken heart of grace, was arrived within two miles of his leaguer, and seemed to be resolved upon attacking him. It will surprise the reader that Montrose, who practised the art of rapid marching and sudden attack with so much success, should have thus permitted his enemy to put the same system so effectually in force against himself. But this seems to have been one of the peculiarities of "the great

marquis." His style of warfare was entirely active. When he appeared in a passive capacity, he was no better than other generals. He appears to have been so confident of his superiority in the former mode of procedure, or to have been so completely accustomed to it, that he never could imagine the possibility of his opponents adopting it against himself. The reader will see that it was through this chink in his mail that the sword of the enemy eventually reached him.

In the dilemma to which he was now reduced, it became a question whether he should descend to meet Argyle on fair ground, or throw himself into Fyvie castle and stand a siege. The former course, as he had only fifteen hundred foot and fifty horse, to oppose to Argyle's two thousand five hundred foot, and twelve hundred horse, would have been next to madness; and, as for the latter, he esteemed it not only dangerous, but derogatory to the glory of his arms. So he resolved upon a different expedient. There was behind Fyvie castle a considerable eminence, the upper part of which was thickly wooded, while its sides were not only rugged by nature, but rendered additionally defensible by farm-enclosures. Within the wood upon the top of that eminence, he placed his men; and then calmly awaited the embarrassed attack which he foresaw the enemy must make upon him along its rugged ascent.

Before Argyle approached for this purpose, Montrose was openly deserted by the few Gordons whom he had lately succeeded in raising; these men being, very naturally and excusably, averse to fighting against so many of their own friends as were ranked in the other army, and more especially against the two sons of their chief,

who were there in high command. To increase the distress he felt at so inopportune an event, the Covenanters, at the first charge, made themselves masters of a considerable portion of the face of the hill. His men were almost at the point of despair, and disposed either to fly or yield, when he suddenly revived their courage by one of those brief but emphatic and apposite addresses, which generals of his class have been known sometimes to apply so effectually. Reminding them in a few words of the wonderful victories they had already gained, and of their great individual superiority over the enemy, so often and so strikingly proved, he called to a colonel of the Irish, whom he knew to be a young man of the most gallant disposition and undaunted mind—"O'Kean, take down your men with you, and beat me these fellows out of the ditches they have taken possession of, so that we may be no more troubled with them." O'Kean hesitated not a moment to go with his small band upon the duty assigned to him, which, notwithstanding the superior number he had to encounter, and their support of cavalry, he executed with amazing spirit, ferreting them out of their defences like so many water-rats, and then fairly driving them back to their main position at the bottom of the hill. He was, moreover, so fortunate as to acquire by this encounter a few bags of gunpowder, which the enemy were obliged to leave behind them, and which were the more valuable, that Montrose was at this time very deficient in ammunition. "I am only sorry," remarked one of the soldiers, as he returned with this trophy to the top of the hill, "that the fellows were so niggardly as to leave us no ball with their powder; but

I suppose we will not get a supply of that article from them without another bout."

This other bout seemed at the very moment about to take place. The Earl of Lothian, a chief leader in the Covenanting army, was now riding up the hill with five troops of horse, apparently designed to charge the fifty royalist horse, who all stood at one place within a clump of wood. Fortunately, the all-seeing Montrose was able, before the enemy's approach, to strengthen his little troop with a band of good musketeers, who, opening an incessant and well-directed fire upon the assailants, as they were crossing the open field in front, fairly caused them to reel, and then to make a hasty and confused retreat.

Montrose's men were so much encouraged by these two successful enterprises, that they would have gladly broke down upon the enemy, and trusted all to a charge in their ordinary style. But the general, while he commended their spirit, thought it prudent to restrain them for the present to their secure position. It was perhaps fortunate that he did so, for Argyle, after spending nearly a whole day on the ground, at last retired in the evening, and left him all the virtual honour, without any of the actual bloodshed, of a victory.

Yet he had not altogether repelled his cautious and paltering enemy. On the very next day, Argyle, encouraged by a report that Montrose was out of ammunition, brought back his army once more to the bottom of the hill, and began, as before, to annoy him with skirmishing parties. The report which thus inflamed his courage was but too true; Montrose, who had as yet procured his ammunition entirely from the enemy, was now

totally destitute of bullets. He was making, it is true, the most vigorous exertions to procure a supply of these necessary articles, by laying all the cupboards of the district under contribution for pewter utensils; and his men were still in such spirits as occasionally to remark, while firing off bits of such things at Argyle's skirmishers,—“I'm sure I've broke a rebel's face with that dish!” Yet, the occasional and uncertain supplies which he thus obtained, were such as to place him on any thing but a fair footing with his well-provided opponents.

With all his superiority, however, Argyle was unable on this day, more than the preceding, to gain any decisive advantage over the royal troops. They kept their post on the top of the hill against all his attacks, and he was at length obliged in the evening to retire once more to his camp. On the succeeding day, and the next again, he renewed his attacks, but never with better success; and he was at length compelled, to the everlasting disgrace of his arms, fairly to abandon the attempt, by retiring over the river to the distance of five or six miles.

Montrose, thinking the present a proper opportunity for taking up a position where he would be surer of supplies, now quitted his hill, and, eluding Argyle's army in a manner which excited universal admiration, took up his quarters next night within the pleasant and well-defended parks around the Marquis of Huntly's house of Strabogie. Argyle followed, with the intention of bringing him to a battle upon the low ground; but a forlorn party, which he sent out to provoke such a encounter, being warmly met and repulsed by the

royalists, his courage cooled once more, and he contented himself with only taking up a position opposite to that of the enemy.

Here, however, the Covenanting general was able to bring into play against Montrose, if not the courage of the soldier, at least the cunning of the politician: he now set himself to the task of wiling over, by promises and bribes, the leading personages of the royal army. He was enabled, by an accidental circumstance, to succeed better in this honourable enterprise, than he perhaps could have otherwise hoped for. The winter was now beginning to set in with considerable severity; and, as Montrose was talking of a retreat to the Highlands, instead of remaining upon the plains, a prospect of hardship and privation for several ensuing months was presented to the imaginations of his Lowland adherents, such as they could not contemplate with any degree of resolution. To avoid a fate which they thought they could not endure, they listened to the obscure and insidious hints which Argyle communicated to them, of reward and preferment in the service of the Estates; and it at length only required the order from their commander, for a march into the horrid wildernesses behind them, to cause an almost simultaneous and universal defection. Even Colonel Sibbald, the zealous friend who had accompanied Montrose from England, deserted him on this occasion; as also Sir William Forbes of Craigievar, the prisoner whom he had formerly liberated, and who was now going at large in the camp upon parole. Out of all his Lowland friends, there alone remained with him the Earl of Airly, a nobleman now sixty years of age, and of infirm health, but who was never-

theless resolved to brave the difficulties at which his younger companions had recoiled.

Montrose beheld the desertion of his adherents with all the indignation and scorn which a generous spirit must ever naturally feel, in contemplating unmanliness or baseness of conduct. To show, at the same time, that his heart sympathized with the physical weakness which had occasioned so much moral turpitude, he no sooner learned that Mr Forbes of Boyndlie, the fellow-prisoner of Craigievar, had had the superior virtue to remain with him, although equally unfit to endure the miseries of a winter campaign, than he generously granted him permission to follow his companion. Adopting, moreover, a lesson of policy from his antagonist, he sent off his faithful adherent, Sir Nathaniel Gordon, to the enemy's camp, for the purpose of there endeavouring to disengage and bring over Lord Lewis Gordon, one of Argyle's chief leaders ; and in this enterprise his commission succeeded so well, as almost to revenge upon the Covenanting general the immense defection which he had occasioned in the leaguer of Montrose.

Orders for a retreat into the Highlands had been issued by the royal general before his friends had deserted him ; and he justly apprehended that Argyle, learning from them what he intended to do, would follow and annoy him in his march. To obviate the hazard of such an occurrence, he countermanded the march, called back the baggage, already on the way, and gave out that he intended to winter where he was. When a few days had passed, and he supposed the enemy might be thrown out, he suddenly resumed his intention,

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sent off his baggage, took a long night-march up Strathspey, and, before Argyle knew of the movement, was completely out of his reach. He directed his march through Badenoch towards the Braes of Athole, without regard to the snow which was now accumulating in that vast Alpine wilderness; whilst Argyle, unable to follow by such a track, dispersed the greater part of his army, and returned by a safer and easier road to Edinburgh.

NOTES

TO

VOLUME FIRST.

CHAP. I.—INTRODUCTORY.

¹ Mary of Guise, widow of James V.

² I believe it may with safety be asserted, that no country in the world could ever boast of containing a people so generally and thoroughly possessed with the spirit of religion, real or pretended, as Scotland at this time. It was then a common boast among the Scots, that, although poorer than any other people in temporal wealth, they were by far the richest in spiritual : God had seen proper to render religion the staple commodity, as it were, of their country.—*Calderwood's History*. The following passage from Kirkton's Church History, being the declaration of a clergyman of the succeeding generation, tends to prove the same fact. "But upon this youth of the Scottish Church I must pass a remark or two before I leave it ; and truly, whatever the country may be, the dispensation of the Church of Scotland hath been singular among the churches. First, it is to be admired that, whereas in other nations the Lord thought it enough to convert a few in a city, village, or family, to himself, as it was in Germany, the Low Countries, and in England, in Scotland the whole nation was converted by the lump ; and within ten years after Popery was discharged in Scotland, there was not in all Scotland ten persons of quality to be found who did not profess the true reformed religion, and so it was among the commons in proportion. Lo ! here a nation born in one day ; yea, moulded into one congregation, and sealed as a fountain with a solemn oath and covenant. One other particular in

the Scottish dispensation, was their ministers. Though a stranger may perchance doubt or suspect, yet what I write I write from certain knowledge, and in conscience of the truth. Such men have rarely been found in the Christian Church since the primitive times," &c. &c. Pp. 21, 22.

³ Calderwood's True History of the Church of Scotland, (printed,) p. 229.

⁴ Calderwood, (printed,) p. 402.

⁵ Mr Robert Bruce, regarding whom some further information will be found in a subsequent page, had in reality some pretensions to be considered the heir of King Robert Bruce, being descended from a near kinsman of that distinguished sovereign. He might, at least, be supposed to have remembered his relationship to the king, as a reason for pride in his own person; seeing that his descendant, Bruce, the Abyssinian traveller, at the distance of two centuries more, is credibly affirmed to have entertained a strong feeling of dignity in the contemplation of his connexion with the family of the royal hero. *Master Robert* was at length banished by King James from Edinburgh, in consequence of his obstinacy in professing a disbelief in the Gowrie Conspiracy.

⁶ Burden of Issachar, p. 8.

⁷ Livingston's Memoirs, Wodrow's MS. Collection, Adv. Library, vol. lxxv.

⁸ Calderwood, (printed,) p. 758.

⁹ Calderwood, MS. Advocates' Library, vol. viii. 1050.

¹⁰ Scot of Scotstarvet's Staggering State of Scots Statesmen, p. 92.

¹¹ Cadyow, the name of the original property of the Hamilton family in Clydesdale.

¹² At a place to the south of Edinburgh, called the Sheens.

¹³ Livingston's Memoirs, Wodrow's Collection, vol. 75.

CHAP. II.—INTRODUCTORY.

¹ Burnet's opinion of them, though severer than might have been expected from his pen, is entitled to some consideration. "These men," he says, "were all of a sort. They affected great sublimities in devotion. They poured themselves out in prayer in a loud voice, and often with many tears. They had but an ordinary proportion of learning amongst them; something of Hebrew, and very

little Greek. Books of controversy with Papists, but above all with Arminians, was the height of their study. A way of preaching by doctrine, reason, and use, was what they set up on; and some of them affected a strain of stating cases of conscience, not with relation to moral actions, but to some reflections on their condition and temper: that was occasioned by their conceit of praying chiefly by the spirit, which every one could not attain to, or keep up to the same heat in all times."

² See the enormous collection of MSS. compiled by this person, in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, and in the Library of the University of Glasgow.

³ Burt's Letters from the North.

⁴ Gillies's Collections, I. 289.

⁵ "Mr Robert Bruce, a man honourably descended, bred a lawyer, and designed for a statesman, but wonderfully called to the ministry, and wonderfully countenanced in it; he made always an earthquake upon his hearers, and rarely preached but to a weeping auditory. I have heard ane minister say, he believed never man in the latter ages spoke with Mr Bruce his authority. A poor Highlander hearing him one day, came to him after sermon, and offered him his whole substance, (which was only two cows,) upon condition Mr Bruce would make God his friend; ane evidence of the power of his ministry; and many such he had."—*Kirkton's Church History*, 26. This is the only instance that has ever fallen under my observation, of a Highlander of this period betraying a susceptibility of devout impressions.

⁶ Mr Livingston, in his Auto-Biography, Wodrow's MSS.

⁷ King James, at this period, endeavoured to restrain the progress of puritanism, by enjoining public sports on Sundays; and the moderate clergy of Scotland, or those who were disposed to yield to the court, seem to have attempted to set an example to the people, by patronising and attending them.

⁸ The following account of a skirmish, which took place about this period on the High Street of Edinburgh, presents an extremely curious picture of the time:—

"1591. Upon the seventh of Januar, the king coming down the street of Edinburgh, from the Tolbuith, the Duke of Lennox, accompaniet with the Lord Hume, following a little space behind, pulled out their swords and invaded

the Laird of Logie. The king fled into a close-head, and incontinent retired to a skinner's booth. The quarrel was, that Logie, a valet of the king's chamber, would not isbe (go out) at the duke's command, till he was put out by force, whereupon he upbraided the duke. The duke and Lord Hume were dischargit the court, but repaired to it againe soone after."—*Calderwood, MS.* vol. iv. p. 219.

9 One of the reasons alleged by the leaders of the church in 1599, against the introduction of bishops, was, that the honour rendered them incapable of practising the duties of a clergyman. They quoted a saying of Queen Elizabeth, on bestowing a bishopric, "Alas for pity! we have marred a good preacher to-day." And the king was exhorted not to mar good preachers by the same procedure.—*Calderwood, p.* 429.

Another cause is stated in Row's History of the Kirk of Scotland, [MS. Adv. Libr.] Speaking, in the supplement to that work, of Mr David Fergusson, minister of Dunfermline, Row says, "When the king (with whom he was very familiar, and who had then frequent residence at Dunfermline, it being a part of the queen's dowry) asked him, 'David, why may not I have bishops in Scotland, as well as they have in England?' he answered, merrily, as was his way, 'Yes, sir, ye may have bishops here; but ye must remember to *make us all equall*. Make us all bishops together, else ye will never content us; for, if ye set up ten or twelve loons over honest men's heads, to knock us down, and give them in rent more thousands to debauch and misspend, than honest men have hundreds and scores, we will never all be content. We are all Paul's bishops, Christ's bishops—hold us as we are.' The king replied, 'The devil-have-it ails you but that you would all be alike, and ye cannot abide any to be over you.' The minister only answered, 'Sir, bann not;' for he had contracted a great habit of swearing, banning, and cursing."

10 Buik of the Universal Kirk, (MS. Adv. Libr. W. 1. 14.) p. 298.

11 The following instance of the prophetic powers of Mr Robert Bruce, is recorded, with implicit seriousness of belief, by the Rev. Mr Wodrow, in his "Lives of Scottish Clergymen," *MS. Glasgow University Library*. Be it remarked, Wodrow lived so late as the earlier half of the last century.

"April 17, 1601. John Watt, deacon-of-deacons, or

deacon-convenor of Edinburgh, was shot dead suddenly in the Burrow Muir of Edinburgh, by some unknown person, who had him at enmity. This man, on the known 17 of December, [1596,] had offered to invade Mr Bruce's person; for which reason he was a favourite at court; and the trial of one Alexander Slimmon, who was suspected, but without cause, to be the instrument of Watt's death, was very narrow, though it tended only the more to vindicate him. Mr Bruce did say to some friends, that he was persuaded a judgment from heaven was abiding John Watt, for his injurious treatment of him; and when he came to this hasty end, they could not but observe Mr Bruce's words fulfilled."

Another instance of Mr Davidson's powers of prediction is added:—

Mr Davidson being anxious to have a new church built at Prestonpans, "a place was found most convenient upon the lands of a small heritor of the parish, called James Pinkerton. Mr Davidson applied to him, and signified, that such a place of his land, and five or six acres, were judged most proper for building the church and the church-yard dyke, and he behoved to sell them. The other said he would never sell them, but he would freely gift those acres to so good an use; which he did. Mr Davidson said, 'James, ye shall be no loser, and ye shall not want a James Pinkerton to succeed you for many generations;' and hitherto, as I was informed some years ago, there has been still a James Pinkerton succeeding to that small heritage in that parish, descending from him, and after severalls of them had been in eminent danger when childless."—Vol. ii. fol. *Article, Mr James Davidson*, p. 61.

12 Maxwell, in his "Burden of Issachar."

13 Burden of Issachar, pp. 8, 9.

14 Livingston, in his Autobiography, MS. Adv. Library.

15 On this person being confined in the state-prison of Blackness, for not kneeling at the communion, Lady Culross wrote to him a letter of comfort, in which she assured him that the Darkness of Blackness was not the Blackness of Darkness.

16 It would appear that, in Lady Culross's time, the female enthusiasts of her order used to carry on familiar correspondence by letters with the most distinguished of the clergy, such as Rutherford and Livingston. Mr Sharpe, who informs us, in a note to Kirkton's Church History,

that he has seen letters addressed to Livingston from the Marchioness of Hamilton, the Countesses of Eglintoun and Wigtoun, and many others of equal and inferior rank, all of them expressing great attachment to the person of the holy man, as well as his system of doctrine, prints from the original manuscript the following pious and most amusing epistle, written by Lady Culross :

" To my loving and worthy brother, Mr John Livingstone, preacher of the word of God.

" My werry worthy and deir brother, I have written to you alredy ; I know not if it be cum to your hands. I am presently in John Gillon his house. We cam weill over, blessed be God. I hope you will meet us in the Shotts the morn so soon as you can. John Gray and his wyf are heir. We long earnestly for you. Be earnest with God, and do as he derrecte. This is my first voyage heir ; if ye disappoint me—I will say nae mair. I hope God sal bring you heir, and furnish you as we have neid. I was stayit the first day with storma, sair against my will. Come and mak us amends for all faults. John Gray, your young bab, longs for the pap ; blessed be God for that change ; come help to confirm him. We have all need of you. If ye com not, it will grieve me ; therefor mak no excusis. Pray earnestly for us ; nevir sic neid. The sprite of God be with you and convoy you ; his grace be with you till meitting and for evir. In haist. Yours in Christ,

" E. MELVILL.

" Your clais are heir, quhilk ye left with us to mak us the mor sure of you ; and yet ye failed us. Do not so now, for feir we poind your nicht-cap.

" June, 1629."

17 Bruce had been banished to Inverness for non-conformity. This town, probably on account of its remoteness, seems to have been used for this purpose on more occasions than one by the dominant powers.

18 That the women were as zealous in the reign of James VI. as in that of Charles I., in favour of the high-flying clergy, is proved by an incident which took place in Edinburgh, in 1587, immediately after Queen Mary had been sentenced by Queen Elizabeth. James, to manifest his natural affection on that dreadful occasion, commanded the salvation of his mother, both as to body and soul, to be prayed for in all religious assemblies, and also appointed a

particular day of fasting and prayer, commanding Adamson, Archbishop of St Andrews, to officiate in St Giles's church. But the minister perched up in the pulpit a young fellow of the name of John Couper; upon which James exclaimed from his gallery, "Master John, that place was designed for another; yet, since you are there, do your duty, and obey the charge to pray for my mother." Couper replied, that he would speak no otherwise than as the spirit should direct him, and immediately began an oration, which consisted of little else than a shower of nicknames upon the poor queen. The king, shocked at this violation of his dignity, if not also at the insult offered to his mother, commanded the barbarian to stop; whereupon he gave a loud knock with his fist upon the pulpit, and cried, "This day shall bear witness against you in the day of the Lord!" He then passed down from the pulpit, and, *together with the whole wivis in the kirk*, removed from the same."—*Moyne's Memoirs*, 115. Spottiswood, 354. Sanderson, 102.

19 Guthry's *Memoirs*, p. 23.

CHAP. III.—INTRODUCTION OF THE SERVICE-BOOK.

1 Christmas, 1625.

2 Lord Belhaven.

3 MS. Advoc. Lib.

4 Laud's *Troubles*, p. 168.

5 The authorities quoted in the following account of the tumult are, the 135th article in the 43d volume of the Wodrow Manuscripts, in the Advocates' Library; the *History of the Kirk*, by Row, MS. [Advoc. Lib. W. 630.] at p. 282; and the king's own account, in what is called the *Large Declaration*, p. 23.

6 The particular department of St Giles's Church, in which the following incident took place, was that central portion which was formerly in use under the name of the Old Church, and which was latterly converted by the magistrates of Edinburgh into a police-office. The East, or New Church, was at that time under repair for the erection of the altar "and other pendicles of that idolatrous worship."—*Crawford's History of the University of Edinburgh*.

7 Her exclamation is recorded in a pamphlet, entitled "Notes upon the Phoenix edition of the *Pastoral Letter*,"

by the celebrated polemic, Samuel Johnson, 1694. The old lady is there called an herb-woman, probably upon the credit of tradition; and that she really was so, is certified by the curious old paper called the *Mercurius Caledonius*, published soon after the Restoration; where it is mentioned, as one of the extravagant proceedings of that drunken period, that Janet Geddes burnt the herb-stall which she kept close by the Tron Kirk of Edinburgh, in one of the bonfires; being induced to do so by the pure spirit of loyalty. It must certainly have been a strange sight to see the individual who had cast the first weapon in the great civil war, exhibit eventually one of the first symptoms of returning loyalty.

⁸ According to some authorities, there was a considerable number of stools thrown. Indeed, the whole riot was afterwards popularly known by the epithet of "The Casting o' the Stules."

⁹ Ear.

¹⁰ The pamphlet from which the most of these circumstances are taken, is entitled "Stoneyfield Day," and is said to have been written by Sir James Balfour, afterwards Lord Lyon. The common story of the woman crying out the above as she threw the stool at the Dean's head, is proved by Mr Brodie to have originated in an error on the part of Daniel Defoe.

¹¹ Blame.

¹² It was perhaps in allusion to this part of the fray, that the old song was written,—of which the following seems to be the only verse preserved:

Put the gown upon the bishop,
That's his miller's-due o' knaveship;
Jenny Geddes was the gossip,
Put the gown upon the bishop.

¹³ The following letter, written by Sir James Balfour, Lord Lyon, [from a small MS. collection in the Advocates' Library,] respecting the tumult of the 23d July, illustrates, in a remarkable degree, the spirit which possessed all ranks of the community on that occasion:—

"MY LORD: I know your sudden departure from this city on Saturday was to see how they brought your light from darkness. Neither will I accuse you as privy to that Asanna our great-heidit bischop had this bypast Saboth, from the tumultuous commons in welcoming home their new-devised liturgie to old St Geilles. Bot our day here

began to darken ere twelve o'clocke, (a very short day in July, indeed,) and if we leve to tell you, my lord, likely to become a foul day. Had not our prime churchmen had large breeches (happily), and nimble heels to save them from a strong tempest, which at two several times menaced destruction to all, yet rubbed the noddles of bot two or three. Neither could that lubbarly monster with his satine gown defend himself by his swollen hands and greasy belly, bot he had half a dissen (dozen) neckfishes to a reckoning; and Maxwell became so affrighted, that to have been safely gone, I verily think he wold have left Arminius's house, and ran under the keys to the Vatican. But this day is fair weather, and an indiction is set on Edinburgh; for, since the preceese people will not sing their prayers, our famous clergy will not suffer them have any in prose. Our weiffes here inveighs [envies] your lordship's happiness, who may pray publicly as the primitive fathers did, and say 'So be it,' whereas thir greasy-bellied fathers would have them to sing Amen, and to use many wanton curtisies, bobbings, noddings, and kneelings, which this rough and uncivil multitude have not been accustomed to nor acquainted with; a world of trash and trumpery, as your lordship may behold lardeit in their new Alcoran," &c. &c.

¹⁴ It is curious to observe the imperfect police of Glasgow at this early period. There appear to have been then no street lamps.

¹⁵ *Roth's Relation*, MS. Adv. Lib. pp. 6, 7, and 8.

CHAP. IV.—THE SUPPLICATION.

¹ Guthry's *Memoirs*, p. 24.

² On the 20th of August, when the Earl of Southesk ventured to recommend the petition in council, Spottiswood, the chancellor and primate, observed that there were only a few ministers and two or three Fife gentlemen in town, and "what needed all this stir about the affair?" The earl replied, with laudable boldness, that "if all their pouches (pockets) were weill ryped (searched), a great many of the best gentry in the country would be found to resent these matters."—*Roth's Relation*, MS. p. 12.

³ A savoury locality in the old town of Edinburgh, now swept away. It was a close passage through the isolated pile of buildings called the Luckenbooths, and led from the main street towards the door of the tolbooth, or court-house.

⁴ Straloch's MS.

⁵ Rothes's Relation.

⁶ As they were walking along, the bishop of Galloway was saluted with the epithets, "Papist Loon, Jesuit Loon, and Betrayer of Religion;" on which the terrified provost expressed a desire to retreat back to his fortress the Tel-booth. But the noblemen prevailed upon him to go on, by assuring him that it was but a pack of poor women "who uttered these cries."—*Rothes's Relation*.

⁷ "At eight o'clock, after the supper, in Dame Home's house."—*Rothes's Relation*.

⁸ Guthry, p. 31.

⁹ Baillie, i. 32.

CHAP. V.—SUBSCRIPTION OF THE COVENANT.

¹ Straloch's MS. Adv. Libr.

² Straloch's MS.

³ In point of precedency.

⁴ Straloch's MS.

⁵ Afterwards raised by King Charles to the title of Lord Balvaird.

⁶ Guthry's Memoirs.

⁷ Rothes's Relation.

⁸ Straloch's MS.

⁹ Straloch's MS.

¹⁰ Straloch's MS.

CHAP. VI.—HAMILTON'S COMMISSION.

¹ Yet Clarendon informs us, that all the time that these violent proceedings were going on in Scotland, proceedings which may have been called the very birth-throes of the great civil war, nobody in England ever thought of inquiring about them. Scotland was a country which the English of that time regarded less than the minutest and most distant continental states. While the news of Poland, Germany, and other kingdoms, were regularly stated for the satisfaction of the public, Scotland "had not a place or mention in one page of any gazette!" At that period, be it moreover observed, the English council never interfered in the business of Scotland. The king, from jealousy lest his native kingdom should be thought subsidiary to England, managed all its business himself, with the advice of only

one or two Scottish noblemen who were always about him, as the Marquis of Hamilton, the Duke of Lennox, &c.

² Perhaps *projectorship* would be the better phrase; but the sentiment implied is precisely the same.

³ This casuistical and inhuman sentiment, so unworthy the general character of Charles, is avowed in one of his letters to the Marquis of Hamilton. See Burnet's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, p. 53.

⁴ Afterwards the famous Marquis of Argyle. Guthry informs us, in his *Memoirs*, that when this nobleman was about to return to Scotland, his father, the Earl of Argyle, a faithful cavalier, advised Charles to detain him, "else he would be sure to wind him a pirl." But Charles replied to this strange suggestion, that as he had called Lorn up on assurance, he behoved to *be a king of his word*, and permitted him to return.

⁵ Chiefly from Holland, a state decidedly friendly to the cause.

⁶ *Roth's Relation*.

⁷ This is told by Gordon of Straloch, in his curious manuscript, where it is added, that one old deaf minister, not hearing what the Commissioner had said, desired one of his neighbours to repeat it; when the person so asked, with a facetiousness scarcely to have been expected on so solemn an occasion, sounded into the deaf man's ear, "Brother, his Grace says it's we who make all the kail salt," alluding to a Scottish proverb generally used in regard to any thing which has spoilt a plot. "There was much salt truth in the jest," says Straloch, who of course must have relished it with all the poignancy of a devout cavalier.

⁸ Burnet's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*.

⁹ Baillie's *Letters*, i. 61.

¹⁰ See Swift's *Tale of a Tub*.

¹¹ They held a solemn fast a few days before the Commissioner arrived, for the purpose of imploring the Deity to dispose of the king's heart in their favour.

¹² *Roth's Relation*, 249.

¹³ *Roth's Relation*.

¹⁴ Burnet's *Memoirs*.

¹⁵ Baillie's *Letters*, i. 62. Straloch's *MS.* i. 85.

¹⁶ Baillie's *Letters*, i. 69. These voices proceeded, not from the open windows, where any person crying could scarcely have failed to be distinguished, but from the small round holes in the wooden-fronted tenements of the High

Street, by which the common stairs were lighted. This is a minute fact ; but it shows to what mean shifts the loyal or Episcopal party were at this time reduced for the expression of their sentiments, and how completely the Covenanters had them under awe.

17 See a letter marked No. 79, in a volume of manuscripts, entitled, *Historical Miscellanies*, Adv. Libr. IV. 3. 12.

In a letter written soon after the subscription of the Covenant, [No. 27, in the same volume,] the following amusing passage occurs :—" Dayly we heer of new passages falling out against the bishops and their conforming ministers. On Thursday last, at Lanark, five or sax ministers, that kythed (showed) themselves for conformity," i. e. to Episcopacy—" and refussed to send commissioners to Edinburgh, *got their paiks soundly from the wyffes there.*"

Another letter-writer in the same manuscript collection, addressing the Earl of Angus, thus speaks of the unfortunate bishops :—" They that are here, are in their lurking holes, as proud and perverse as ever. Profess what they will, they are like the serpent, they will never be straight in their course, so long as there is life in their tails. You that are princes in the land, in whose proper places due to your worth and birth they have intruded themselves, should tak it to heart to curb the pride of these usurpers of your prerogatives. They wald extend *jus utriusque gladii* against all laiks that wald presume to possess their sees ; albeit, they could sing and say as weill as the — ; for preaching and praying becomes not their rockets. It was ane old saying of Creichton, bishop of Dunkeld, that bishops are not ordained for preaching. The sports and exercise of noble and heroik persons of old, was to hunt wolves, bears, and foxes, rather than fearful hars and harmless birds. Now when foxes are in the chace, heroik sports will try their courage. Charles the Great made Rome great. I wish our gracious Charles wald tak to heirt to raze their greatness wha wald diminish his, and accomplish the prophecie."

18 Spalding's Troubles, Vol. i. p. 68. Straloch's MS.

19 Straloch's MS. i. 158.

CHAP. VII.—THE GLASGOW ASSEMBLY.

1 Burnet's Memoirs.

2 The Episcopal Palace near the Cathedral.

3 It has been alleged by the cavalier historians, that this was a farce got up beforehand by the Covenanters ; and

Straloch, who relates the circumstance with great minuteness, informs us, that Lord Erskine afterwards endeavoured to deny it altogether, "suffering more trouble," he wittily remarks, "in latter life, about having done so silly a thing, than he ever really suffered before for having delayed to sign the Covenant."

⁴ The following popular verses, preserved in the MS. volume of Historical Miscellanies, already quoted, may be given as a sort of synopsis of the popular scandal at this time circulated concerning the bishops:

"St Androis is ane atheist, and Glasgow is a geuk,
A wencher Brechin,* Edinburgh of avarice a pock.
To Popery prone is Galloway, Dunkeld is rich in treasure,
A courtier Ross, but, glutton like, Argyle eats out of measure.
Drowned Aberdeen in poverty, Murray is subtil-witted,
Dumblane, the crippel, loves a cupp, it is for all siks footed.
Skilled Orkney is in archery, as Caithness is in dregs,
Oh what a shame Christ's flock to trust to such unfaithful dogs."

⁵ Baillie's Letters, i. 140.

CHAP. VIII.—COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES.

¹ That the restoration of Britain to the church of Rome was an object with many of Charles's clergy and courtiers, is proved incontestably by Mr Hallam in his Constitutional History of England.

² By Burnet, in his Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton.

³ "Naked rogues as they were;" such was the phrase used by the Marquis of Hamilton, in making offer of them to his Majesty. Burnet, 113.

⁴ The following account of General Leslie, [from Straloch's MS. Book iv. p. 18.] is curious, and worthy of being here quoted:

* A woman was at this time going through the country, bearing in her arms a child, which she ascribed to the Bishop of Brechin; but the cavaliers always said that she was suborned to do so by his enemies. Brechin was one of the most spirited of all the prelates; as witness an anecdote, which is recorded in all the contemporary publications. Being at one time threatened with personal violence, in case he should read the Service-Book in his cathedral, he went into the pulpit with a pair of pistols in his belt, and resolutely read out the liturgy from that odious volume.

“ Alexander Leslie, a gentleman of base birth, born in Balveny, by his valour, conduct, and long service under the king of Sweden in Germany, had raised himself from nothing to the dignity of a Veldt-Marshal. He returned to his native country, laden with riches and honours, and settling near his chief, the Earl of Rothes, who invited him home, and was one of the principal authors of the war, he purchased a fair estate in Fife. Every thing relating to the war was carried on by General Leslie's advice. He caused send to Holland for great store of armour and ammunition, (arms for 30,000 men, says Dr Burnet, were in a short time brought to Scotland,) and to Germany, France, Holland, and Denmark, for the most experienced and valiant commanders, who, being all Scotsmen, came over in great numbers, hoping to make up their own fortunes on the ruin of their native country; but the Lord did otherwise, blessed be his holy name! Leslie caused cannon to be cast in the Potter-row by one Captain Hamilton; he trained the Earl of Rothes's men in Fife; established a council of war, consisting of nobles and officers, men of wisdom and experience; and in the beginning of January began to cast trenches round the town of Leith. Spalding seems to have mistaken the place of General Leslie's birth. Balveny was never possessed by the Leslies; but Tullich over against it on the east side of the water of Fiddich and Kininvie, a mile to the north of Tullich, a most pleasant seat on the same water of Fiddich, belongs to them at this day. A gentleman of that family told me that Leslie was a natural son of Kininvie's, and that his mother during her pregnancy could eat nothing but wheat bread, and drink nothing but wine, which Kininvie allowed her to be provided of, though she was nothing but a common servant—a sign that the child she was big with would prove an extraordinary person.”

⁵ Especially Burntisland and Kinghorn.

⁶ Younger son of the first Earl of Haddington, and generally honoured, reason unknown, with the nickname of “*Dear Sandie Hamilton*.”

⁷ *Historia Motuum*, 318.—Burnet, 114.—Straloch's MS. Book iv.

⁸ Younger brother of the Laird of Glenegles.

⁹ The gate then entered on the south side of “a sumptuous out-work of ashler-work, called the Spur, which, because it was both troublesome and useless to the castle, was

afterwards demolished by the English, when they got the castle into their possession."—*Straloch's MS.*

10 Spalding's Troubles.—*Straloch's MS.*

11 Spalding, i, 124.

12 *Straloch's MS.* "The horsemen wore their ribbons after the fashion of the ordinary orders of knighthood; but, instead of any thing like a medal, or order, hanging from the ribbon, they appended therefrom the spanners for their firelocks." This ribbon afterwards became the general badge of the Covenanting army, and hence the epithet "a true blue Covenanter."

13 No man, or class of men, is ever found proof against the prevailing superstitions of their particular age. *Straloch* himself confesses his belief in many prodigies which he tells,—prodigies much more extravagant than the idea that God had granted the Covenanters three days of good weather.

14 He had with him a few pieces of cannon, which were popularly called "Dear Sandie's Stoups," because they had been cast by Colonel Alexander Hamilton, who, as already mentioned, was nicknamed *Dear Sandie*.—*Straloch's MS.*

15 Evidently an equivoque, intended by both for mutual deception—Huntly understanding the king's religion, and Montrose that of the Covenanters.

16 *Straloch's MS.*

17 Spalding.—*Straloch's MS.*

18 Such was the impression of Gordon of *Straloch*. See his *MS.* Book iv, p. 57.

19 Spalding.

CHAP. IX.—CAMPAIGN OF 1639.

1 Midway between the islets of Inch-Keith and Inch-Colm.

2 Beacons had been erected throughout the whole country, which, being lighted at the first appearance of the fleet, convened the people of all the neighbouring districts in a single day's time.

3 It was reported at the time, and the report is not improbable, that she had provided herself with a couple of gold bullets for this purpose, perhaps thinking that the premier nobleman of Scotland, and the representative, *pro tempore*, of Majesty, was entitled to be shot with a better

metal than ordinary lead.—See Pinkerton's *Scottish Gallery*, Straloch's MS. &c.

⁴ Some Kirkaldy skippers expressed the same desire.—Baillie's *Letters*, i. 167.

⁵ It was not till the beginning of June, when he had approached the Border, that Charles sent permission to Hamilton to commence hostilities on the Covenanters. He then, says Burnet, resolved to spare neither his own town of Berrowstonness, nor his cousin's of Prestonpans. Here, however, an accident which nearly befel himself seems to have prevented him from doing any mischief. "He went out one day," says Burnet, "in a small vessel with a drake on her, and sixty soldiers, to view the Queensferry, and burn the ships that lay in the harbour, when he saw a merchant barque coming down towards him, and caused his men to row up to her. She, as soon as she perceived her danger, ran ashore upon the sands of Barnbugle. The tide then falling, and he following her space, he ran himself also aground, where he was like to have been very quickly taken by the men on the shore, who were playing upon him; and some volleys passed on both sides. They on the shore were only waiting till the waters should fall, in order to take him; which they would certainly have done, if the seamen had not got out, and, up to their middle in water, pushed off their vessel. They then returned safe to the fleet."

⁶ That the Covenanters were at this period by no means ceremonious in their methods of raising money, will appear from the following curious paper, copied from the original, in the possession of Mr Stewart of Dalguise:

"At Edinburgh, the 15 day of May 1639, the Noblemen, Commissioners of shires and burrows being for the time, gives full power and commission to the Provost, Bailies, and counsail of Perth, or any of their number they think expedient to deal with the burgesses and inhabitants of the said burgh of Perth, for borrowing of moneyis from any person or persons within the said burgh, and to assure them of any kind of securitie, either by noblemen, gentlemen, or burgesses, or either of them, as the lenders shall please require for repayment thereof, with interest during the non-redelivery. And in case any who sall have money, and refuse to lend the samine, we authorise our said commissioners to intromitt with the samine, upon note for securitie, to be granted in manner foresaid. Requiring all noblemen, gentl-

clerken, magistrates of burrowes, and others, to assist our said commissioners, in doing what sall be necessar for obtaining of moneyis upon securitie, or otherwayes, in case it sall be without reason refused.

(Signed) "Mar—Rothes—Cassilis—Boyd—Naper—Cunninghamheid—S. Moncrieff—Dundas of that Ilk—Robertland—W. Cunningham—Ro. Adair—J. Smith for Ayr—Richard Maxwell for Edin:—Alex. Skeyne for Montrose—David Cunningham for Glasgow—Tho. Bruce for Sterling."

7 Tureff, or, as it is more commonly called, *Turray*, is exactly half way betwixt the cities of Aberdeen and Elgin; for which fact there is the authority of a rhyme well known in the north of Scotland:—

When ye're at the Brig of Turray,

Ye're just half way between Aberdeen and Elgin in Murray.

8 Straloch gives this account of the affair in his own MS.

9 The whole of this affair was popularly called "the Barons' Reign." It was a reign of only a week.

10 Straloch's MS.

11 Straloch's MS.

12 *Historia Motuum.*

13 Baillie's Letters.

14 *Historia Motuum.*

15 Baillie's Letters, i. 177.

16 Afterwards Earl of Hartfell.

17 Straloch's MS.

18 That is, from the Earl of Holland.

19 The small breach in a cloudy sky, which generally appears in the direction from which the wind proceeds, is so termed in Scotland to this day.

20 See a letter from Sir Harry Vane to the M. of Hamilton. Burnet's Memoirs, 139.

21 Rushworth's Collections. The negligence of the king's scout-master, Sir Roger Widdrington, was considered the more wonderful on this occasion, as he was an English Borderer, who had been selected for the office on account of his experience, before the union of the crowns, in the Border-wars, and his continued hatred of the Scots.

22 "The general had a braw royal tent; but it was not set up. His constant guard was some hundred of our lawyers, musketeers, under Durie and Hope's command, all

the way standing in good arms, with locked matches, before his high gate, well-apparelled.

“ His councils of war were daily kept in the castle, whence he came nightly, with Baillie, on their horses, for setting of the watch.

“ He kept daily in the castle an honourable table for the nobles and strangers with himself; for gentlemen waiters, thereafter, at a long side-table. The fare was as became a general in time of war; not so curious by far as Arundel's to our nobles; but ye know the English fare sumptuously both in war and peace, and are despised by all their neighbours. It seems his table was on his own charge; for, so far as yet I know, neither he nor any nobleman or gentleman of considerable rent, got any thing for their charge.”
—*Baillie's Letters*, i. 177.

²³ Straloch's MS. *Jockey* was the familiar name given by the English, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to the personified idea of a Scotsman, as *Sawney* is at the present day.

²⁴ Such is Baillie's phrase.

²⁵ Another proof, by the way, of the *strong reasons* which these personages had for entering into the war.

²⁶ The following extract from Gordon of Straloch's MS. (Adv. Lib. Jac. V. 5. 40.) regarding a curious circumstance which took place near Dunse Law, while the army lay there, June 1639, may be esteemed as, to a certain extent, illustrative of the spirit of the times.

“ And here, by the way, I shall remember upon that which fell out near Dunse Law about these times. It was the falling of a part of a bank, upon the steep side of a hill, near by the Scottish camp, which of its own accord had shuffled downward, and by its fall discovered innumerable stones, round for the most part in shape, and perfectly spherical, some of them oval shapen. They were of a dark grey colour, some of them yellowish, and for quantity they looked like balls of all sizes, from a pistol to field-pieces, such as sakers or robinetts. Upwards smooth they were, and polished without, but lighter than lead by many degrees, so that they were only for show, but not for use. Many of them were carried about in men's pockets, to be seen for the rarity; nor wanted there a few who did interpret the stone magazine at Dunse Hill as a miracle; as if

God had sent this by an hidden providence for the use of the Covenanters; for at this time all things were interpreted for the advantage of the Covenant. Others looked upon these pebble stones as prodigious; and the wiser sort took little notice of them at all. I suppose that at this present the quarry is extant, where they are yet to be seen, no more a miracle: but whether the event has determined them to be a prodigy or not, I shall not take it upon me to define either pro or con."—Vol. i. book iv. p. 77.

²⁷ A letter written for him by Sir Harry Vane, published in Burnet's Memoirs.

²⁸ Immediately after encamping on Dunse Law, they sent requisitions for new levies throughout all the adjacent parts of the country; some of them expressed in the form of funeral letters, and inviting those to whom they were directed to come at least to the burial of their countrymen. The preachers, at the same time, were everywhere busy invoking the curse of Meros upon all who went not forth "to help the Lord against the mighty."

Besides these accessions thus procured, Argyle joined them from Stirling with a great band of Highlanders; and it was thought, says Baillie, "that the country of England was more afraid of their barbarity, than of any other terror. Those of the English who came to visit our camp, did gaze much with admiration upon these supple fellows, with their plaids, targes, and dirlachs."—*Letters*, vol. i. p. 175.

²⁹ Hardwicke's State Papers, vol. ii.

³⁰ See the Collections of Rushworth, Hardwicke, Nalson, and Burnet.

³¹ "The place of the Scottish leaguer did occasion the English comedians to jeeste and jeere, that Bishops were discharged in Scotland, neither by Canon Law, nor by Civil Law, but by Dunse Law."—*Supplement to Rowe's History of the Church of Scotland*, MS. (Adv. Lib. W. 6. 30.) p. 41.

CHAP. X.—WINTER OF 1639-40.

¹ Burnet, 144.

² His tergiversation was soon after suspected by the Covenanters, and one morning he found affixed to his chamber-door a label, bearing the significant words:—

Invictus armis, verbis vincitur—

"Hitherto unconquered by force of arms, he is at length reduced by mere words."—*Guthry's Memoirs*, p. 65.

3 The ceremony termed the Riding of the Parliament was performed on this occasion with unusual state, and was witnessed by many Englishmen, who had remained behind the king upon state business, or from curiosity. It was remarked, while the Commissioner moved from the Palace, where he lodged, to the Parliament House,—as a singular instance of the mutability of fortune,—that he had been imprisoned and disgraced only three months before, for betraying into the hands of the king's enemies, the Regalia which were now carried before him, in honour of his character as the representative of majesty. To give additional interest to this parliament, the first that had been held for several years, it met in the grand new hall, which the magistrates of Edinburgh had just built for the purpose—the present Parliament House; and which was the first place of meeting a Scottish parliament had ever had really worthy of the august nature of the assembly.—*Straloch's MS.*

CHAP. XL.—CAMPAIGN OF 1640.

1 The following list is from *Straloch's MS.* "Noblemen: the Earls of Rothes, Montrose, Cassilis, Wigton, Dunfermline, and Lethian; Lords Lindsay, Bakermine, Coupar, Burleigh, Napier, and Leven. Lords of Session: Dury, Craighall, and Scotstarvet. Gentlemen: Sir Thomas Nicholson of Carnoch Lawer, Sir Patrick Hepburn of Wauchton, Sir David Home of Wedderburn, Sir George Stirling of Kier, Sir Patrick Murray of Elibank, Sir Patrick Hamilton of Little Preston, Sir William Cunningham of Caprinton, Sir William Douglas of Cavers, James Chalmers of Gadagirth, Sir Thomas Hope of Kerse, Drummond of Riccarton, Forbes of Lesly, and Mr George Dundas of Manner. Burgesses: John Smith, burgess of Edinburgh; Thomas Paterson, tailor, and Richard Maxwell, saddler in Edinburgh; William Hamilton, burgess of Linlithgow; Mr Alexander Wedderburn, clerk of Dundee; George Porterfield, bailie of Glasgow; Hugh Kennedy, bailie of Ayr; John Rutherford, provost of Jedburgh; Mr Alexander Jaffray, burgess of Aberdeen, (or Mr William Mear, bailie of Aberdeen, in his absence;) James Swood, burgess of St Andrews; and James Scott, burgess of Montrose.

2 "All in good order, having blue bonnets on their

heads, with feathers waving in the wind."—*Spalding's Troubles*, i. 213.

3 This will remind the reader of General Dalyell's beard.

4 It must be remembered, to the exculpation of the Covenanters, that Monro acted, in this dreadful expedition, rather according to the rules of warfare he had been accustomed to abroad, than to their orders. Such was his erection of the German instrument of punishment, called the *Wooden Mare*, upon the principal street of Aberdeen, for the exposure and torture of the recusant citizens. (One person, in particular, was put upon the Mare for merely using a light expression regarding a Covenanted soldier who happened to be drowned in the river.) Such also, perhaps, was his destruction of the pictures, books, and garden, all alike valuable, of the magnificent castle of Banff, the seat of Sir George Ogilvie. When King Charles heard of the fate of this house, which was noted as by far the finest in the north of Scotland, it is said that he expressed himself deeply concerned for the pictures and the garden; it being possible, he said, for money to make a speedy repair of the house, while, to replace these ornaments, could only be the work of time.

5 These facts regarding the Earl's expedition, now made public for the first time, are founded upon the authority of Straloch.

6 Baillie, i. 202. A proof, by the way, that the fashion among Scottish housewives, of making and keeping great quantities of unnecessary linen, was common two hundred years ago.

7 Straloch's MS. Book v. p. 103.

8 See a "Discourse of the Scots Army's Progress through England," *Historical Miscellanies*, (Adv. Lib. W. 3. 12.) p. 252.

9 See *Historical Miscellanies*, (Adv. Lib. W. 3. 12.) p. 299.

10 He moreover proposed to issue a large quantity of base money; but was fortunately dissuaded from so unpopular a measure.

11 To be awake.

12 Rushworth's Collections.

13 These exquisitely hobbling lines are from a long poem by Mr Boyd, entitled, "Newburn Book." I may take this opportunity of mentioning, by the way, that the work known by the name of Zachary Boyd's Bible, is not so very

contemptible, in point of literary merit, as the ludicrous specimens in circulation, or the above extract from another poem, would lead the world to suppose. The present writer was induced by curiosity, when making some researches among the valuable historical manuscripts in the College Library of Glasgow, to inspect both the volumes called Zachary Boyd's Bible, and some other relics of his poetical labours, which are there preserved. The "Bible" is not in reality a version of the Scriptures, as generally represented, but only a series of dramatic poems, as they may be called, founded upon the most prominent stories of the Old Testament, as the Life of Joseph, the Life of Sampson, the story of Jonah, &c. They resemble, indeed, Mrs Hannah More's Sacred Dramas more than any thing else. The volume, which is a very small quarto, may contain six such pieces at most. At the end there is a piece upon a profane subject, (namely the Gunpowder Plot, an incident of Zachary's own time,) the *Dramatis Personæ* of which, partly spiritual and partly temporal, are strangely huddled into a list at the beginning,—as God, the Pope, King James, the Devil, Guy Faux, Queen Anne, the Archangel Michael, and so forth. As for the poetry, it is in general both regular in point of versification, and sedate in point of sense. Only, at some particular places, as at the soliloquy of Jonah in the whale's belly, Zachary's Pegasus at once drops down from his epic career through the heaven of dignity, and falls a-kicking and flinging upon humble earth, like the veriest packhorse or *cuddie* that ever trode the clods. It is from these rare and isolated portions of his work, that the specimens are derived, which have afforded so much amusement to the scoffers, and circulated so general an impression of the utter nonsensicality of what is, upon the whole, a very serious and meritorious work. It is to be regretted, however, that the volume is now so much dilapidated by damp and want of binding, that there are few pages entire, to testify the merit of one who was, in his day, both a distinguished poet, a pious clergyman, and a worthy man.

14 Nalson, in his Collections, takes away the merit of moderation generally imputed to the Scots for this act, by stating that, if they had prevented the intercourse of the coal-vessels between London and Newcastle, the inhabitants of the latter town, deprived of their ordinary means of subsistence, would have been unable to pay their exactions, while the *ten thousand working colliers employed at the*

place, would have been compelled by mere want to mutiny against them. The same author presents us with a very amusing anecdote of the behaviour of the Scots army. Contrary to their declarations, it appears the soldiers would often seize the food and property of the inhabitants. If any unhappy individual remonstrated rather more loudly than usual against such spoliation, the Scottish soldier would ask him "if he was not a Papist?" If he confessed, there was no more to be said: the crime of Catholicism was sufficient to make him totally unworthy the protection of the law. If, on the other hand, the answer was in the negative, "Oh, then," the inflexible Joskey would reply, "ye're as bad—for you are willing to be of any religion the king and the bishops require of you."

15 *Memories of the Somervilles.*

16 *Burnet's Memoirs, 179.*—*Monteith's History of the Troubles, 61.*

17 The Marquis of Hamilton, giving an account of the Covenanted lords to the king, in a letter dated November 27, 1638, thus mentions Montrose: "There are many forward in show; among whom none more vainly foolish than Montrose."—*Hardwicks's State Papers.*

18 Heylin, in his life of Archbishop Laud, p. 370 to 374, attributes Montrose's disgust at Charles to the machinations of the Marquis of Hamilton, whose supposed views upon the crown are strongly insisted upon by this author. He tells, that, in order to acquire the ascendancy he wished in Scotland, this nobleman procured the disgrace of the Earls of Monteith and Montrose, whose alliance to the crown he feared as much as their great talents. Monteith he caused to be disgraced, on the allegation that he had himself views upon the crown, through his supposed descent from an elder son of Robert II. than that from whom Charles was descended: Montrose he injured in another way. "This man," says Heylin, "returning from France in the flower and bravery of his age, had an intent of putting himself into the king's service, and was advised to make his way by the Marquis of Hamilton; who, knowing the gallantry of the man, and fearing a competitor in his M.'s favour, cunningly told him that he would do him any service, but that the king was so wholly given up to the English nation, and so discountenanced and slighted the Scots, that, were it not for doing a service to his country, (which the king intended to reduce to the form of a province,) he could not suffer the

indignities which were put upon him. This done, he repairs to the king, tells him of the Earl's return from France, and of his purpose to attend him at the time appointed ; but he was so popular, so powerful, and of so much esteem among the Scots, by reason of an old descent from the royal family, that, if he was not nipped in the bud, (as we use to say,) he might endanger the king's interests and affairs in Scotland. The earl being brought unto the king, with very great demonstrations of affection on the marquis his part, the king, without taking any great notice of him, gave him his hand to kiss, and so turned aside ; which confirmed him in the truth of the false report which Hamilton had delivered to him. So that, in great displeasure and disdain, he makes for Scotland. There he finds Colonel Alexander Lealy, (an obscure fellow, but made rich with the spoils of Germany,) as discontented as himself, for being denied the honourable title of a baron, which he ambitiously sought for at the king's being there. And he found them there, also, who perceived on what foot he halted, and knew well how to work on such humours as he brought along with him, till, by seconding the information he had brought from Hamilton, they had fashioned him wholly to their will : for they prevailed so far upon him, that at the first he cordially espoused their quarrel against the liturgy and barons, and whatever else they found fault withal in the publick government ; he being one of those great persons, (and as forward as any of them all,) who published a protestation at the Cross of Edinburgh, against one of his Majesty's declarations of grace and favour : But afterwards, being displeased that Lealy was preferred before him in commanding the army, and looking thereupon more carefully into the depth of the design than at first he did, he estranged himself from them by degrees, and at last became the most eminent instrument that ever his M. employed in his wars against that people."

CHAP. XII.—SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT SIGNED.

¹ It is impossible to conceive the degree to which the popular odium of these celebrated ministers had arrived. The immediate cause of Strafford's execution, which took place on the 12th of May, 1641, appears to have been nothing else than the utter impossibility of otherwise satisfying the

people. Such was their indignation against him, that great fears were entertained lest they should intercept him on the way to the scaffold, and tear him to pieces with their own hands. After his death, their fury did not in the least give way, as it has been known to do in similar cases, to pity : on the contrary, they spent the evening in the most violent demonstrations of joy, kindling bonfires, and breaking the windows of all who would not illuminate ; and many who had come from the country to be present at the execution, rode back during the course of the evening, waving their hats, as they passed through the various villages, and shouting, with frantic joyfulness, " His head is off, his head is off ! "—as if the decapitation of this single individual had, simply of itself, been enough to restore tranquillity and happiness to their country.—See *Carte's History of England*, iv. 354.

2 Clarendon.

3 Monteith's *Troubles*, 80.

4 Guthry's *Memoirs*, 106.

5 Guthry's *Memoirs*, 109.

6 " Let not Montrose be branded with the name of assassin for this proposal. Inveterate national habit extenuates, though it cannot sanction crime ; and they who are moderately read in the history of Scotland, well know that an attack upon the life of an enemy, if made in the form of military enterprise, incurred not at that time either the appellation or the odium of murder."—*Lodge's Illustrations of Personages*, article *Marquis of Montrose*.

7 The Scottish leaders would have preferred a parliament ; but, in the impossibility of getting the king to call one, they were obliged to hold an irregular meeting under the above denomination.

CHAP. XIII.—BATTLE OF TIPPERMUIR.

¹ Persons specified nominatim in the summons of forfeiture, 7th June 1644, " for the Invasion of the South : "

" James erle of Montrose
 Rot. erle of Nithsdale
 James vicount of Aboyne
 Johne Lord Herreis
 Collo^{ll} Wm. Stuart
 Capetan W^m. Rollok

Sr. Phillip Nisbet
 Hay of Delgatie
 Capetan Wm. home"

Parliamentary Record,
11th February, 1645.

² Montrose Redivivus, 25, 26, 27. Monteith's Troubles, 169. Guthry's Memoirs, 181.

³ Every remarkable event of this time, especially if accompanied by disaster, was believed to be shadowed forth in supernatural omens. Gordon, in his "History of the House of Gordon," (vol. i. p. 424,) informs us, that on the day when the Irish landed under Colkitto, the noise of a cannon-shot was heard over all Scotland at one time. "Some," he adds, "said they saw fire, and others that they heard the noise of a cannon-ball flying in the air; and my author informs me, that himself and many hundreds were witnesses to it; and that, upon inquiry, it was found to have been heard at one instant at Coldstream upon Tweed, and in Ross in the north of Scotland. I myself, [writing in 1726,] have heard several gentlemen affirm, that they were ear-witnesses to the truth of this story."

⁴ Alexander Macdonald was the son of a gentleman of the celebrated island of Iona, or Icolmkill. His father's name was Col Macdonald; but, being left-handed, he was more generally known by the term Colkeitoch—*Col of the Left Hand*. Alexander himself, according to the practice of the Highlands, inherited his father's name as Mac-Colkeitoch—*Son of Col of the Left Hand*: sometimes even the name of his grandfather was added, and he then became, in the language of the Gael, Alaster Mac-Colkeitoch Vich-Gillespic. From some unaccountable reason, however, he has been generally known in history by the name of Colkitto, which, at the best, was only his father's soubriquet, or nickname.

Out of deference to the countrymen of this doughty hero, whom I have always observed to be amazingly irritated by the philological errors of the Sassenach in regard to their valued patronymics, I have, in the present work, adopted the phrase "Alaster MacCol," as the most legitimate, and, at the same time, the most intelligible, of his various appellations.

It is somewhat singular, by the way, that Milton should have engrossed the greater number of MacCol's names,

apparently without intention, in a sonnet which he wrote on the reception which his work on Divorce, entitled, "Tetrachordon," met with from the public. To let the reader understand the full force of this satire, which is appended below, and which may be instanced as one of the best of Milton's attempts at humorous composition, it should be mentioned, that the Assembly of Divines, against whom the satire was chiefly directed, had ridiculed the hardness of the Greek title of his book :

A book was writ of late, called Tetrachordon,
And woven close, both matter, form, and stile ;
The subject new : it walked the town awhile,
Numbering good intellects ; now seldom pored on.
Cries the stale reader, Bless us ! what a word on
A title-page is this ! And some, in file,
Stand spelling false, while one might walk to Mile-
End Green. Why, is it harder, sirs, than Gordon,
Colkitto, or Macdonnel, or Galasp ?
Those rugged names to our like mouths grow sleek,
Which would have made Quintilian stare and gasp.
Thy age, like ours, O soul of Sir John Cheek,
Hated not learning worse than toad or asp ;
When thou taught'st Cambridge, and King Edward,
Greek.

Milton here evidently means to sneer at the Assembly of Divines, for having made the English people so well acquainted with Scottish surnames. And he perhaps did not think that, instead of giving the names of Scottish clergymen, he was only enumerating those of two loyalists, who were more vigorously opposed to the Assembly than he could be himself.

⁵ Red Book of Clanranald. MS. translation by the late Rev. Donald Macintosh, in the temporary possession of the author.

Guthry, 164.

⁷ Montrose Redivivus, 35.

⁸ Report of an eye-witness, quoted in "Gentleman's Magazine," xvi. 153.

⁹ MS. by a citizen of Perth, quoted in "Morison's Memorabilia of Perth," p. 167.

¹⁰ Baillie, i. 92.

¹¹ As a proof of the prosperity of this interesting old city at the period of the civil war, it may be mentioned, that

Charles II., when crowned at Scone, (Jan. 1, 1651,) borrowed 80,000 merks from one of its merchants, Andrew Read, besides carrying on a shop account with him to the extent of 60,000 more. When his Majesty left Scotland, to fight the fatal battle of Worcester, he did not pay any part of this large sum; and what is worse, he did not pay it after his Restoration, to Read's executors. When Oliver Cromwell took possession of the town in August, 1651, Andrew Read, it is said, presented to him the king's bond, and asked payment. Cromwell told him, "he would have no concern with it, for he was neither heir nor executor to Charles Stewart;" to which Read made this reply—"Then you must needs be a vicious intromitter."—*Mercer's Chronicle*, Adv. Lib. p. 115.

¹² Mercer's Chronicle, MS. Adv. Lib. p. 102.

¹³ In "the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border," the editor quotes a passage from an Autobiographical Memoir of Lord Sinclair, which is still in manuscript, to show that, even 80 years after the battle of Tippermuir, the recollection of the dreadful carnage which signalized it, was sufficient to appal Presbyterian courage.

CHAP. XIV.—BATTLES OF ABERDEEN AND FYVIE.

¹ See Gordon's "History of the Family of Gordon," for another noted instance of assassination committed at this time by a Covenanter.

² Spalding, ii. 236.

³ Spalding, ii. 238.

⁴ It is added, that this true specimen of the light-hearted Milesian was subsequently placed, according to his prediction and wish among the horse, and that he there distinguished himself by much valuable service.

⁵ Spalding, ii. 245.

⁶ Spalding, ii. 252.

⁷ In Wishart's Memoirs, the reader will find specified in candid terms, the *particular sort of dish* which the soldiers chiefly accompanied with this remark.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

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